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East Europe

FBIS-EEU-89-227
Tuesday
28 November 1989

Daily Report
East Europe

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NOTICE TO READERS: * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

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National Assembly to Convene 14 Dec

AU2711200789 Sofia BTA in English 1837 GMT 27 Nov 89

[Text] Sofia, November 27 (BTA)—The State Council of Bulgaria convenes the Ninth National Assembly for its Twelfth Session on December 14, 1989.

New Independent Organizations Established

AU2711171589 Sofia BTA in English 1531 GMT 27 Nov 89

[Text] Sofia, November 27 (BTA)—Citizens' Initiative Movement was founded in Sofia today. The Program Declaration of the Initiative Committee, whose members are mostly intellectuals, points out: The movement supports the restructuring which has started and aims at its realization with the participation of the public. We question the right to be governed, autocratically and without control, on our behalf, reads the document. The reason for the establishing of the new movement is the unbelief of the initiators that the nomenclature will carry out the necessary reforms.

The movement does not reject the dialogue with the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party], as well as with any other organization working for democratic changes, but if those governing do not take into consideration the demands of the citizens, the movement will search for roads to influence it.

Citizens initiative, (as a number of other independent organizations) will assist the cultivation of political culture and democratic habits in the population. The final aim of the movement is the elimination of the administrative-command system and the construction of free civic society and law-abiding state.

The newly formed movement came out with two packages of requests to the leaders of this country. As urgent have been pointed out the following requests; to create real guarantees for civic rights and freedoms; to bring legislation into line with the signatures of Bulgaria under international agreements; to recognize the right of existence of independent organizations and they should be a factor in public life; deideoligization of education, science; just resolution of the ethnic problems.

The second package includes requests for general democratic elections during the next year and for a referendum on changes in the Constitution.

Similar is the program of the Independent Association Democratic Forum. It was joined by the Vuzrazhdane (revival),the Sofia Democratic Group, the Ilinden Society, the Committee for Innovation of Pernik (city close to Sofia), the Sofia Social Democratic Group. The Democratic Forum stands for uniting all public forces whose goal is the democratization of society. It will search for contacts with similar organizations in Poland, the Soviet Union, Hungary.

Record of 16 Nov BCP Plenum Published

AU2511194489 Sofia BTA in English 1844 GMT 25 Nov 89

["Details About the November 16 BCP CC Plenum"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, November 25 (BTA)—Today RABOTNICHESKO DELO started to publish details about the plenum of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] of November 16, this year. It is a summary of the shorthand record which provides, as it is said in an editorial note, "the most important information about the critical and self-critical assessments, shows the proposals and recommendations which have been made." The editorial note reads that for the first time since a number of years the plenum has passed in a completely democratic atmosphere.

The end of the summary will be published in RABOTNICHESKO DELO tomorrow.

The record quotes in detail the motives for the changes in the leadership of the BCP. Milko Balev and Grisha Filipov have been relieved as members of the Politburo and secretaries of the CC of the BCP and as members of the Central Committee "because they lack the necessary qualities and with their behaviour and actions they ruin the prestige of the party and its leadership. Strong ill-feelings have accumulated in the public against them."

In a number of the statements Milko Balev has been criticized as a man with big blame for the raising of the personality cult toward Todor Zhivkov. He is one of the authors of the idea and the motive power for the constant publishing and republishing of the books by the secretary general and the books related to his late daughter Lyudmila Zhivkova. With his actions, and at times vulgar behaviour, Milko Balev caused perplexion not only among the intellectual circles but in ordinary people as well. He aroused fear in them. It is especially pointed out that Balev has protected and tolerated the former deputy minister of foreign trade Georgi Vutev, who was sentenced to 15 years in 1987 for misuse of considerable amounts of money. In his statement Nacho Papazov characterizes Vutev as "henchman and buffoon" of Balev.

About Grisha Filipov, who has occupied for almost 25 years responsible posts, it is said that he has caused great harm to the Bulgarian economy due to the staunch patronizing on the side of Todor Zhivkov. Filipov has been the initiator of the economic reforms as early as the sixties. He has lacked a clear concept about a systematic and plan-based development and managing of the economy. He has been inconsistent, inclined for constant changes of opinions and decisions. "He turned into a shadow of the secretary general and tried only to pander to his taste, to every new idea of the secretary general, offered changes in decisions already endorsed by the supreme party bodies, decrees and laws included," said at the plenum Nacho Papazov.

About Dimitur Stoyanov, ex-member of the Politburo and ex-secretary of the CC of the BCP, head of the council for coordination of the activities in connection with the situation in this country, it has been said that he had made gross mistakes, which have contributed for the growing of the tension in this country. The statements point out his approach based on force and administration in the resolution of political questions fateful for this country.

Concern has been expressed at the plenum in connection with the facts about the violations of the Arrest, Investigation and Sentencing of Citizens Act. Citizens have been detained, whose innocence has been proved after that. It has been stressed that there is a need of special investigation of the condition of the work in the investigative bodies of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. Georgi Tanev, minister of internal affairs, appointed several months ago to this post, has spoken on this question. He has said that the information given by the bodies of the ministry has been accepted by the party and state leadership with unpleasant grimaces, with hints that those informing of good and wanted news are appreciated highly, also those who turn the failures in success.

Georgi Tanev has said that a radical restructuring has already started concerning certain structures of state security, chiefly those which followed from the repeal by the National Assembly on November 17 this year, Article 273 of the Penal Code, and it was dealing with the struggle against "ideological sabotages". According to the minister of internal affairs this department will be abolished. Its activity will be transformed toward protection of the constitutional order, the rights and freedoms of the Bulgarian citizens.

In an answer to a question the minister of internal affairs has said that in principle there have not been given instructions to the militia for shooting at anybody. The policemen did it of their own accord.

Answering to a question whether there has been a system in Bulgaria for keeping under observation and tapping of responsible figures, Georgi Tanev has said, that he has tried to find how it has been during the recent years and that there is not a single member or alternate member of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] or a head of some organization or department, to be tapped. But Tanev has said that he shares the concern of Georgi Dzhagarov, deputy chairman of the State Council, who asked those questions. The minister of internal affairs himself has been warned by people occupying responsible posts not to speak certain things because they could be tapped. "When the telephones do not work everybody thinks that they are being tapped," he said.

In a number of statements the condition of the Bulgarian economy is estimated as catastrophic because of inconsistency and voluntarism in the decisions. Here once again is pointed out the personal blame of Grisha Filipov, constantly and solidly tolerated by Todor Zhivkov. There has been criticism at the plenum against the personnel changes in the Council of Ministers after 1987. There have been intrigues and struggle for political supremacy, the aim has been to undermine the prestige of the chairman of the Council of Ministers Georgi Atanasov. In this connection it has been stressed at the plenum that Petko Danchev (relative of Todor Zhivkov) lacks the necessary political, moral and business qualities to be an alternate member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers. He has not begun to deal with a single serious question while in the government. Similar are the reproaches against Stoyan Ovcharov, who was alternate member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP and minister of economy and planning.

As chief troubles in the condition of the economy of this country at present most of the speakers have pointed out the drastic difference between words and deeds, characteristic of Todor Zhivkov's style, which has brought to the fact that the people has lost its trust in the party and state leadership. A thing that devastated the national economy were the frequent and not well-advised reorganizations, the numerous mergers, abolishings, dividings and name-changing of ministries and committees.

"A number of these changes form a psychosis in the people, create insecurity for tomorrow, apathy appears," has said Slavcho Trunski. He has stressed that even after the changes in the Politburo of the CC of the BCP the people who graduated in economy in it are not many. "The change was necessary, the people meet with satisfaction the relieving of Todor Zhivkov and the election of Petur Mladenov, because the socialism in Bulgaria is in crisis," he said.

Almost all of the speakers have said that under the leadership of Todor Zhivkov the role of the CC of the BCP has been disparaged and its task has been "only to approve reports, considerations, memorandums."

"In the sphere of the economy the damages are unbearable. For 10-15 years we have not made a single step forward. And it is not only that we simply mark time, but in many respects we have gone backward," has said Zhivko Zhivkov. He also pointed out that on a number of important questions alternative opinions have been passed without any attention at the Politburo, the Central Committee and the government and to them Todor Zhivkov "reacted in the way Stalin had".

It has been pointed out that the personnel changes that have been made are not the only thing that matters; the most important thing is the new political course in the realization of the aim of the party construction of socialism in Bulgaria.

It has also been pointed out that the role of the National Assembly has been devaluated and it must activate itself as a legislative body. The Soviet Parliament has been pointed out as an example.

Tomorrow RABOTNICHESKO DELO will publish the end of the detailed information about the plenum of the CC of the BCP of November 16.

Further on Record

AU2611194289 Sofia BTA in English 1831 GMT 26 Nov 89

["Details About the BCP CC Plenum of November 16"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, November 26 (BTA)—Today's RABOTNICHESKO DELO publishes the second part of the detailed information about the plenum of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] of November 16, this year.

The summaries of the shorthand record published today contain a number of sharp critical notes against the vicious, autocratic, totalitarian style of leadership of Todor Zhivkov and his most close associates Milko Balev, Grisha Filipov, Dimitur Stoyanov. Especially severe is the criticism against the practice to promote to most responsible posts all members of the Zhivkov family, his relatives, acquaintances. As especially striking was pointed the case with the promotion of his son Vladimir Zhivkov for a member of the CC of the BCP and head of the Culture Department of the Central Committee. "Every one with clean conscience who knows Vladimir Zhivkov can say that he utterly lacks experience and qualities for party work, not to mention his scientific degrees which undoubtedly must be investigated," said at the plenum Konstantin Atanasov.

Yordan Yotov spoke about the division of opinion in the Politburo when Todor Zhivkov introduced the idea for promotion of his son in the leadership of the party.

"The way out is in the change of the system. The system can give birth not only to one, two and three, but to five even one hundred Zhivkovs. The way out lies in the reforms of the system," said Yordan Yotov.

Some of the speakers have assessed the role of Milko Balev and Mircho Spasov (one of those who have been responsible for the personnel policy of the party) in the party leadership as "sinister".

In his speech poet Pavel Matev, chairman of the Union of Bulgarian Writers, has noted that Todor Zhivkov bears the main responsibility for the social tension which has been created in this country, that his totalitarian policy has brought to confrontation with everyone that thinks differently.

In almost all statements it is stressed that at present the most important thing is the fast restructuring of the party, the real restoration of the Leninist principles and methods of work, the restoration of democracy, the establishing of creative atmosphere, freedom of opinions.

On behalf of the veterans of the BCP, about 37,000 people, spoke Vladimir Bonev. He has said that the veteran Communists support completely the first actions for actual restructuring.

The blame of all members of the Central Committee for the fact that for 35 years they have borne at the head of the BCP and the state a man who has monopolized the power, has been pointed out by Krustyu Trichkov, who in the past, has been first-deputy chairman of the State Council for five years.

Venelin Kotsev, secretary of the CC of the BCP years ago, at present ambassador in Hungary, has said that the manifestations of police methods should be abolished completely. The militia and the bodies of the Ministry of Internal Affairs should protect society from criminals and criminal actions but they must stop the persecutions against poets, artists, citizens of whatever sphere, the diplomats included, said he.

Dimitur Stoyanov, former member of the Politburo and secretary of the CC of the BCP, has admitted his faults at the plenum. He has spoken about the great suspiciousness of Todor Zhivkov toward his assistants. In a response to his statement Andrey Lukanov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CC of the BCP, has pointed out that Stoyanov is directly responsible for the recently accelerated merge between the organizational staff of the CC of the BCP with certain special structures in the state security bodies. This symbiosis, rarely met in the practice of the fraternal communist parties, has said Andrey Lukanov, pursued two goals: to guarantee the consolidation of the regime of personal authority; to replace the public dialogue, the political methods for overcoming of social contradictions and the resolution of the most burning problems of the nation by repressive measures and methods. This symbiosis always gives birth to mortal threat for the socialist lawfulness, as well as to socialism as a political system, said Lukanov

Some of the speakers have proposed to restore as a member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP the present chairman of the National Assembly Stanko Todorov. He has declined that proposal, informed of his conflict with Todor Zhivkov and said that he can fulfill his functions as chairman of the Parliament till the end of his present mandate. The 69-year-old Stanko Todorov has pointed out that the new secretary general should have the opportunity to work with young and promising people in the Politburo of the CC of the BCP.

In his conclusive speech the secretary general of the CC of the BCP Petur Mladenov has stressed that the Bulgarian people gives positive assessment of the new political course of the BCP but he has warned that only the first step has been made. It is necessary to undertake actions which would restore the trust of the people in the Communist Party. As a conclusion from the discussion at the plenum he has pointed out that honest and devoted Communists work at the Central Committee, people truthful to the work of socialism, truthful to Marxism-Leninism.

Petur Mladenov has noted that the next plenum of the CC of the BCP (it has been scheduled for December 11th) will not deal with theoretical discussions but it should have to adopt a program for work for a one-year period till the congress of the party. He has also pointed out that the commission which is to prepare a draft for changes in the Constitution of Bulgaria should start its work.

Politburo Member Lukanov on Personal Interviews

AU2611213589 Sofia ANTENIA in Bulgarian No. 47, 22 Nov 89 p 1

[Report on interview with Andrey Lukanov, member of the BCP Central Commmittee Politburo and BCP Central Committee secretary, by Nadezhda Kabakchieva: "A Close Look at the Leader"—date and place not given]

[Text] In these days of exceptionally intense activities for our new party and state leadership, we asked Comrade Andrey Lukanov, Politburo member of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Central Committee and Central Committee secretary, for an interview on the following question:

[Kabakchieva] So far, except for strictly official interviews granted to newspapers, radio, and television, nothing has been published on the lives of BCP Central Committee Politburo members, or other high-ranking leaders. However, they are all people like everybody else. It is true that they have a very busy schedule; nevertheless, they are occupied with their families, their interests, and their hobbies during their recreation time. In other countries, the life and interests of a leader are not secrets and the reasons for this are well known. What is your opinion on this question?

[Lukanov] This should be the case also in our country. People are expecting it. They would like to know what kind of people are those who are authorized to adopt administrative and political decisions in the people's name. This openness and glasnost related to the leaders' everyday lives is an inevitable and urgently required characteristic feature for a democratic society.

Naturally, I personally think that sensationalism and tactless interference into the private sphere of the man involved and of his family should be avoided. A certain moderation should be observed, which I would call a civilized approach in providing this kind of information. Nevertheless, it is absolutely required, and I agree that this practice should be introduced in our country.

[Kabakchieva] Thank you, the weekly ANTENI shall not forget this promise of yours.

Poll Taken of Participants in Rallies

AU2011145189 Sofia BTA in English 1410 GMT 20 Nov 89

["Sociological Enquiry Held With Rally Participants"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, November (BTA)—About one half of the participants in the hundred-thousand strong rallies which took place in Sofia have confidence in the newly elected secretary general of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] and president of the State Council Petur Mladenov.

The first rally, held on Friday, November 17, was organized by the political and public forces committees with the Fatherland Front and the second one, held on Saturday, November 18, by the independent clubs and societies fighting for the ideas of the restructuring, the existence of which was until recently hushed.

The impromptu enquiry carried out by young sociologists of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences shows that 61.4 per cent of the participants in the first rally are categorical in their trust and yet a great part of them are cautious and prefer not to make hasty evaluations. At the rally held on Saturday the ratio between these two groups is the reverse: 34.4 per cent have confidence, while the answer of 58.8 per cent was "It's early for judgements".

According to the sociologists a similar enquiry was held in Bulgaria for the first time.

Both rallies raised slogans for glasnost, democracy, the dismantling of the command-administrative system, free elections and for the elimination of demagogy, corruption and feudal socialism.

In the respondents' opinion the most important problem of the country is democratization. But according to most of the answers in the two enquiries at the moment the political and the economic problems are equally important: Their percentage is 58.2 per cent for the Friday rally and 68.6 per cent for the Saturday rally.

The sociologists point out the greater social maturity and political culture of the participants in the second rally. Twenty-five per cent of the respondents interviewed on November 17 place the settlement of the economic problems in the first place, while the respective percentage of those interviewed on November 18 is only 9.2. The expectations of young people (under 25) are mainly associated with the solution of the economic problems and far less with the democratization of the country. The most strongly politicized are the expectations of the older people (over 60 years of age).

According to the survey the two rallies in Sofia were attended mainly by middle-aged people—55-57 per cent. The percentage of the participants who have university education is 48.6 for the first rally and 52.9 for the second one. Most of those attending were employees and intellectuals—58-59 per cent. The percentage of BCP members who took part in the rallies on November 17 and November 18 is respectively 47.7 and 18.5, and that of nonparty members 14.1 and 49.6. The enquiry held with participants in the second rally shows that 9.2 of them are members of informal public organizations.

Repeal of Penal Code Article 273 Explained

AU2711073589 Sofia VECHERNI NOVINI in Bulgarian 22 Nov 89 p 2

[Article by Borislav Yotov, deputy chief prosecutor for Sofia City: "Article 273 Is No More!"]

[Text] The processes of democratization and glasnost in every aspect of our social life that have recently been gaining strength in Bulgaria have also created conditions for the further democratization of our legislation.

The recent 11th session of the Ninth National Assembly continued this democratization process. The Assembly adopted a new Law on Amendments to the Penal Code and an Amnesty Law, which are in accordance with the Final Document of the Vienna meeting.

The main content of this new legislation is the repeal of Article 273 of the Penal Code, which reads: "A person who knowingly makes public untrue assertions of a such a nature that they create distrust in the government or its measures or arouse unrest in society, is punishable by up to 2 years imprisonment or corrective labor."

The decriminalization of such acts and the removal of this text from the Penal Code also provided appropriate grounds for the adoption of a new Amnesty Law, under which an amnesty is declared for crimes which fall under Article 273. This legal jargon means that persons who have committed crimes under Article 273 of the Penal Code are relieved of penal responsibility and freed from serving the relevant sentence and from the consequences of the conviction. That is, if a preliminary inquiry has already been set in motion the inquiry is stopped, and the courts also do the same in cases where an indictment has already been submitted, a verdict has not yet been legally executed, or an appeal on a case has been lodged with the higher court.

Accordingly, such persons will not be regarded as having been convicted.

The new legislation also gives answers to certain questions connected with the property consequences arising from being called to answer criminal charges, or from a conviction under this article that has already been imposed. This means that items of property and money seized under pending criminal cases are returned to their rightful owners, naturally provided that they have been legally acquired, are in their legal possession, and are not subject to confiscation under other laws.

One should also bear in mind another important consequence of a practical nature. It is specified that property confiscated or seized on the basis of Article 53 of the Penal Code and fines collected in respect of judgments that have been executed prior to the publication of this law are not returned.

Disputable questions arising on the application of the Amnesty Law are decided by the court that issued the verdict or the court under whose jurisdiction the relevant crime falls.

Pending cases relating to the collection of fines imposed for crimes previously committed under Article 273 of the Penal Code are suspended.

The final instruction states that the law is effective from the date of its publication in DURZHAVEN VESTNIK.

The minister of justice and the minister of internal affairs are charged with putting the law into effect.

Apart from their purely juridical content, the above laws are also undoubtedly of great political importance. It is precisely the new sociopolitical situation in Bulgaria that made it possible to enact legislation to repeal an article of penal law that was in glaring contradiction with the policy course of expanding democracy and glasnost that has already been proclaimed. However, the existence of this text in the law created a legal barrier to implementing in our social practice these two important attributes of the developed, advanced law-governed state.

Previous court practice shows that many of those criminally prosecuted and convicted under Article 273 of the Penal Code in fact made public true assertions regarding the activity of the relevant organs, institutions, and departments, as well as concerning the measures taken by them.

It has become clear that the existence of this text in the penal law is incompatible and in glaring contradiction with the principles of glasnost and political pluralism, which presumes freedom of thought and speech.

Army Daily Editorial on National Assembly

AU2111171889 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 18 Nov 89 p 1

[Editorial: "At the Threshold of Responsibility"]

[Text] We have lived to see the day when a National Assembly session was broadcast live in full on television. We have been used to watching official statements, which usually expressed full approval, after which we witnessed apathetic and unanimous voting.

Today, however, we witnessed a real event in our sociopolitical life. This event showed that we can have true democracy and glasnost and we can proceed along the path of revolutionary renewal as long we are willing to do so.

We have become accustomed to toying with the word restructuring, but only today were we able to convince ourselves that we are truly embarking upon the path that should lead us toward it. Perhaps we shall use the expression "we have become accustomed to" many more times, but let us hope that we shall soon become unaccustomed to all these outdated cliches that, until yesterday, we obeyed as laws and which actually kept us prisoners of passivity, indifference, and fear of expressing our own opinion.

Let us not try to investigate who has been silent, and when and why, and who has been more silent than someone else. Let us not ask who has been silent in more or less difficult periods. The important thing today is that we are entitled to speak, that we should learn how to speak with common sense, dignity, and a lofty sense of responsibility.

The recently concluded session of the National Assembly seems to be our first lesson in democratic thinking and glasnost inspired by a sense of responsibility. The passivity in which our supreme legislative organs was kept over many years suddenly yielded to unaccustomed activity, to sharp polemics, and to a free exchange of opinions. We were able to see our National Assembly deputies as thinking and well-prepared individuals, as people inspired by ideas and filled with concern, endowed with parliamentary culture and habits, people who up to now have not had the opportunity to show these qualities. In the final analysis, we were all oppressed by an invented, but untouchable authority which, directly or indirectly, we supported over many years out of fear, careerism, or simple passivity.

Pluralism, or let us rather call it the right to one's own opinion, knocked on our door. The repeal of Article 273 of the Penal Code, the amnesty for those who had been convicted under this law, the freedom to state one's opinion during the National Assembly session itself—all these circumstances provide evidence of the aforementioned fact. For many years we wrote and spoke about the struggle against bureaucracy, but it continued to develop and expand until it had enmeshed us in the command-administrative and bureaucratic system. We had to hear the proposal of a National Assembly deputy on establishing parliamentary control over the structure of the organization, payrolls, and tasks of the new ministries in order to discover one of the methods of struggling against the aforementioned phenomenon. In the future we will certainly find many other means of dismantling this system that has been rejected by time.

The National Assembly adopted many important decisions. This does not only apply to Petur Mladenov's election to the post of State Council chairman. With his first steps as general secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee he won the people's confidence and managed to restore their faith in restructuring.

The National Assembly voted for changes in the government apparatus in order to restore the system of normally functioning state organs, which are capable of overcoming all negative phenomena in the country's economic life and of redirecting Bulgaria onto the path of ascending development.

We are all aware that the long-awaited changes cannot happen at once. The omissions of many years will now require many years of intense and dedicated effort. It is this effort that should unite us and not a constant return to the past and the painful reliving of the errors of the past.

The people have not yet lost their faith in the party. The people believe in the restructuring process and are very well aware of the need for it; they are really longing for it. This faith and hope should not be disappointed. The Bulgarian People's Army, which is an indivisible part of the people and in which the people's sons are serving, shares the aspirations of the people and lives with their joys, worries, and emotions, and it is also longing for restructuring. We are all facing the longed-for opportunity of freely expanding our creative abilities and using our right to vote, our right to creative work, opinions, and free labor efforts.

We are facing the threshold of true glasnost. However, since we have been used to speaking pompous rhetoric for such a long time, since we have been used to speaking in sentences that have lost all meaning and real impact, let us again learn to speak with common sense, with a sense of responsibility and a sense of duty with every word we say.

Exhibition on 'Age of the Cult' Proposed

AU2111193789

[Editorial Report] Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian on 20 November on page 3 publishes, under the rubric "My Personal Viewpoint," a 3,500-word article by Stefan Prodev, formerly chief editor of NARODNA KULTURA, entitled "An Idea About an Exhibition" and accompanied by a quotation from Baudelaire: "The wounds that we have inflicted on ourselves are the slowest to heal."

Prodev begins by explaining that young people have often asked him to tell them about "the intellectual atmosphere in Bulgaria during the period of the cult." Prodev says he was "first intrigued, and then alarmed, because I sensed that entire generations, who have grown up before my eyes, are deprived of very important information about our very near past." He realized that "the concealment of the truth, despite the official branding of the cult with political epithets, leads not only to individual delusions, but also to collective illiteracy." He asserts that "this is already not a simple interruption in time, but a harmful taboo on remembrance, which willy-nilly represents an amnesty for evil." He is convinced that "a comprehensive melting in the atmosphere and the facts about the 'medieval age of the cult' will not only be instructive in nature, but will also be of moral and political importance," especially during the current phase of reviewing ethical values, and will prevent people from developing similar delusions in the future and "falling victim to new social speculations and intellectual distortions." According to Prodev, all the facts should be brought out into the open, "from the journalistic liturgies to the grandiose exhibitions, from those gloomy literary pogroms to the songs sung about the leader by the masses."

As one possible way of providing information on the cult, Prodev puts forward an idea "proposed by Khristo Butsev on the pages of NARODNA KULTURA during 1988, a year that was stormy and fateful for this newspaper." According to Prodev, "Butsev proposed organizing an exhibition on the years of the cult, which would illustrate with the aid of objects, documents, and natural evidence the symbols and atmosphere of the period that interests us. As editor in chief of the newspaper at the time, I supported my colleague's idea, and now I want to develop it in specific form as someone who shares his ideas."

Prodev emphasizes the immense educational importance of such an enterprise, especially for the younger generation. He suggests that the exhibition should contain a comprehensive selection of artifacts illustrating the atmosphere of the period, "from the architectural detail on the Stalinist granite to the medals on the lapels and the bronze images of the deified persons," permitting each visitor to reassess his own position in relation to the cult. Prodev then offers detailed suggestions on the layout of the exhibition, emphasizing that "the 'fair' should be arranged with the maximum precision and clarity." He suggests that the exhibition should be divided into sections on "politics, mass propaganda, esthetics, design and fashion, and kitsch," in order to bring to life "such absurd and cruel moments of the history of the cult society as the repressions, mass branding of persons and phenomena, inquisitions of the body and soul, the trial of Traycho Kostov," and other notorious events, such as the "mocking of national classics, lists of banned authors and books," attacks on art, "destruction of archives and sources, and the birth of the first 'prohibited territories' and 'blank pages,'" with "many other facts and ideological categories that enchained society and prevented the revolution from developing normally."

The exhibits, according to Prodev, should give an exhaustive picture of how the image of the leader was created, and the exhibition would not be complete unless it includes examples of films, plays, and music from the period.

Prodev concludes by again emphasizing the importance of such an exhibition for the present period of renewal, noting that "restructuring is unthinkable unless we also look back and critically analyze the past, which many of us carry inside ourselves." However, Prodev emphasizes that the exhibition should be illustrative, "not punitive in nature, not a form of retribution or retrospective revenge." He hopes that his suggestions will not be misinterpreted: "They are simply the fruit of my desire that we should read history again, aloud, in front of all those who for reasons of age or various delusions do not have a clear idea about it."

Need for More Glasnost Emphasized

AU2311111989 Sofia NARODNA MLADEZH in Bulgarian 20 Nov 89 p 9

[Valentin Panayotov article: "Lessons of Stagnation"]

[Excerpts] The last few years have taught us the most recent, important, and terrible lessons of stagnation. I would describe the absolute essence of those lessons as being the abyss that existed between the party and state leadership on the one side, and the people on the other. This abyss had its material, psychological, ideological, and moral aspects. They included residences bigger than 10 rest homes, in which a few persons and their families rested, special villa zones, hunting parks, unique hunting trophy collections, the creation of a party and administrative aristocracy with inherited titles and rights, nepotism and heredity beginning at the very top of the party and state leadership, and demagogy in the final account. [passage omitted]

The role of journalism as a profession serving ideological canons and decisions, regardless of whether they were correct or not or whether the people accepted them or not, became absurd in the extreme. The spontaneously established "Ecoglasnost" citizen's association—an association of people concerned with the health of the Bulgarian citizens and soil—was treated as an illegal and dangerous organization. Brutal force was used against its visible manifestations. [passage omitted]

Of course, we have yet to learn real glasnost and democracy. We still feel the lessons of stagnation. Why for example, did we have to learn from PRAVDA that at the November plenum of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party there was an alternative candidate for the post of general secretary? Why has it not yet been revealed why scientists and journalists were expelled from the party and fired from their jobs? The lessons of stagnation are a heavy burden. Will we be able to overcome them? [passage omitted]

Press Reaction to Ouster of Zhivkov

AU2211165389

[Editorial Report] Bulgarian dailies on 20 November comment on on the personnel changes in the party and government resulting from the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Central Committee November plenums and the 17 November National Assembly session. Several articles refer to the personality cult of former BCP Central Committee General Secretary Todor Zhivkov, linking it with the "stagnation" of public life in Bulgaria. While a number of articles are outspoken in their criticism of Zhivkov's personality and leadership style, some authors are reticent about mentioning his name and the names of his closest associates, who are denounced for flattering him and contributing to his personality cult. Some authors describe their personal experiences of Todor Zhivkov's regime, under which they claim to have been subjected to unjust treatment.

In this context OTECHESTVEN FRONT of 20 November on pages 1 and 4 carries a 900-word "Letter to the Editorial Board" from Academician Vladimir Topencharov, former OTECHESTVEN FRONT editor in chief, published under the headline: "The Happy Fate of the 'Lesson,'" in which Topencharov, a well-known Bulgarian public figure, who often writes articles on topical issues, makes the following revelation:

"I recall certain aspects of the 1956 April plenum which seem like a farce. It was a double-edged event. On the one hand, it rejected the personality cult and visibly restored democracy. It rehabilitated the victims who had been sentenced to harsh imprisonment and to the rope by the former BCP Central Committee secretary, but soon after this the OTECHESTVEN FRONT editorial board was destroyed."

Topencharov goes to describe how he, as OTECHESTVEN FRONT chief editor, had written articles on the "lessons" of the April plenum, which provoked a "stormy meeting at the Politburo with the violent participation of Todor Zhivkov," as a result of which, he, Topencharov, was removed from his post and from all public activities. Only 8 years later, "in a period of international detente," he was sent abroad as an ambassador, a fate he shared with numerous other Bulgarian public figures, he says. Topencharov adds that "this was done in the manner of the Roman emperors who used to send distinguished citizens who were unpalatable to them to serve in distant countries." Topencharov explains that only at the 13th BCP Congress in 1986, "at the beginning of Soviet perestroyka" was he again allowed to speak. "Why were the positive aspects of the April Plenum nipped in the bud?" he asks. "Perhaps, because conditions were not ripe for it, but it was just our response to and copy of the 20th CPSU Congress. In addition, the plenum was primarily devoted to problems of the personality cult, while the threats of the contemporary general situation were not taken into consideration. Moreover it took place in an unfavorable international situation. Todor Zhivkov's greed for power also interferred, and that is why the voice of OTECHESTVEN FRONT remained unheard and did not produce any results." The author ends by congratulating Mladenov and the new party leadership, emphasizing that he was not "seeking belated recognition for the opinion voiced in the same newspaper, OTECHESTVEN FRONT, in 1956."

TRUD carries on page 3 a 1,200-word article by Stefan Prodev entitled "The Portrait" which depicts numerous portraits of Todor Zhivkov, without once mentioning his name. The article, written in an ironical tone, describes how "a whole army of photographers and artists tried to make him more handsome, to make him attractive, and to convince us that this was the portrait of our epoch." He goes on to say that the leader even used to deliver his speeches under his own portrait and to smile at the crowds "satisfied with the formal servility of the dissatisfied people." Fortunately, Prodev says, the Bulgarian people did not take themselves seriously in practicing their devotion to the chief. They found an outlet in telling jokes and in "laughing at their own servility. This is so, because, unlike the Polish Catholics and the German Protestants, we are atheists and most effectively find something to laugh about in situations in which elsewhere the tears of various madonnas try to compensate for weakness. This is our misfortune and at the same time our chance."

Prodev goes on to describe the harmful deformations of the Zhivkov cult: "Let us not speak about the various Spartakiades, sports events, and youth assemblies, which used the living bodies of our children and young people to portray the leader and to make his old eyes gleam." The author describes these excesses as a "sort of religion, which tried to convince us that all would be orphans without him."

Referring to the 10 November BCP plenum where "everything was turned upside down and the crash of the falling portrait resounded throughout the country," Prodev reflects upon the fate of "numerous loyal subjects who will certainly feel deprived and morally devastated, because there is no one to watch over them, because there is no one to whom they should look and take strength from his strength." The author points out that the "path of the portrait being carried away from the offices down to the basement is the longest path in our recent history." He adds that "numerous destroyed lives and lost hopes are buried along this path," but remarks: "Never mind, the portrait is finally going to where it belongs, among the spiders and cockroaches, and may the cobwebs of time cover it forever."

Prodev concludes by saying that "Bulgaria has never loved vain politicians who have forgotten their duty to the people," adding that "we no longer need portraits and slogans," and that whoever wishes to have his picture taken should go to the photographer, "but not at the people's expense."

Sofia POGLED No.47, of 20 November carries two articles covering the whole of page 5 to the Zhivkov cult.

A 1,400 article by Nikolay Todorov is entitled "Time of Rejection, Time of Constructive Efforts." In it the author describes the people's "sigh of relief" at the fact that "a long personal dictatorship has collapsed in the dust of history." Todorov analyzes the problem and the recent events from the point of view of journalists, regretting that in the past the Bulgarian press "was generously provided with instructions, but quite poorly informed." Without mentioning Zhivkov's name, the author blames the "all-powerful apparatus" for the increasing pressure on journalists, which, he says, was even intensified in recent years: Instead "of improving under the beneficial influence of new political thinking, the atmosphere recently became even more oppressive and began suspiciously to resemble that of the 1950's—the sweet epoch of our youth."

Referring to the recent Politburo decision which restored the party membership of "several intellectuals, including a few highly respected journalists," Todorov recalls the persecution of an unnamed "colleague who exposed the dirty linen of some local big shot, small in size, but with big political protection" (possibly a reference to journalist Georgi Tambuev, who was expelled from RABOTNICHESKO DELO and deprived of his party membership after having exposed a notorious corruption case and whose membership was restored as a result of the 10 November plenum). Todorov adds that "other intellectuals suffered the same fate and were subjected to such severe and merciless ostracism, that even a brief conversation with them in the street was taken note of and considered a political misdeed."

The author adds in this context: "High-ranking and powerful people were behind all these actions. They are living creatures, apparently sincere and well-intentioned people. I do not know whether they are now sleeping peacefully on the immaculate pillows of their clean conscience. I am not convinced that they will find the decency to excuse themselves before the nation for the moral damage and suffering caused to their victims. However, I am deeply convinced that these were profoundly erroneous acts, and essential anti-party actions, and that such events should be irrevocably relegated to the past of our recent history."

"People should be educated in the spirit of social discipline," Todorov says, "but along with this we should repeatedly go back to old-fashioned concepts such as civic dignity, personal integrity, and moral responsibility toward oneself, the people, and the future generations." The author expresses optimistism about the future on the basis of the "decisions adopted by the two November plenums and the changes that resulted from them."

An 800-word article by Stefan Tsanev entitled "Why Did We Never Have Court Jesters?" is accompanied by an editorial note saying that "this article was submitted to the POGLED editorial board prior to 10 November" but not specifying why it was not published earlier. The article contains ironical reflections on the subject of why Bulgarian kings never had court jesters who might have told them the truth about the situation in the country and their shortcomings. Referring to the present, Tsanev describes how "the adviser of a very high-ranking person" tried to convince him that there was no housing shortage in Bulgaria: "Since he was lying to my face, without expecting any gain from it, you can imagine how the same adviser lied to his chief. The poor man—if he believes his advisers (and whom else should he believe?)—imagines what kind of information he got about the real situation in the country." Regretting the lack of "court jesters" in Bulgaria's medieval past, the author says that such jesters, by telling their masters the truth about the situation in the country and about their actions, "would perhaps have spared us a few centuries of slavery." Speaking about the present, Tsanov says: "This is all romantic fiction, of course, and should not be taken seriously. Nevertheless, how is the situation today? Do we need court jesters, that is, people who will risk telling the truth without minding their careers? It seems that we really do need them. This role could be filled by journalists and writers, considering their rank, duties, and vocation. Do you think that this would be an insult to them? By no means!"

Without any apparent connection with the article, a picture is published in an adjacent column, showing former Politburo member Milko Balev (one of Zhivkov's closest advisers), sitting on an elevated tribune, while journalist Sonya Bakish (wife of National Assembly Chairman Stanko Todorov who was expelled from the BCP for ecological activities and whose party membership was restored following the November plenums) is standing in front of him like a defendant. The caption under the picture reads: "Extraordinary Congress of the Bulgarian Union of Journalists in March 1989. A dialogue between colleagues (Sonya Bakish and Milkov Balev)."

Statements by Zarev, Belchev, Dimitrov

AU2211121589 Sofia POGLED in Bulgarian No. 47, 20 Nov 89 p 9

[Statements by newly elected ministers Kiril Zarev, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of economy and planning; Belcho Belchev, minister of finance; and Boyko Dimitrov, minister of foreign affairs: "Wisely and in a Businesslike Manner" to POGLED reporter Lenko Beshev on 17 November—place not given]

[Text] Kiril Zarev, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of economy and planning:

The first (and most important) task we are facing is to finally work out the plan for the country's development for the next year—the last year of the Ninth 5-Year Plan period. This plan must ensure a better situation on the market and a better economic balance through achieving unity between the national plan and the plans of the companies and other economic organizations in our country.

In addition, it will be necessary to intensify the activity of the economic organizations on the foreign markets.

What will my first day at work be like? I shall seek an answer to the question: How should I structure of ministry so that it corresponds to the modern requirements and our comprehensive restructuring?

Belcho Belchev, minister of finance:

The specialist on financial issues should speak only when he has sufficient numerical data on the state of the economy and on many aspects of socioeconomic development. The 10 November Plenum of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP], the subsequent 16 November BCP Central Committee Plenum on certain topical and organizational issues, and today's session of the National Assembly adopted decisions on constructive and businesslike activity for renewing socialism and resolving the problems that have accumulated during several decades. Those problems are especially difficult with regard to the national financial balances. We must work in a consistent, analytical, fundamental, and well-founded manner in order to overcome those disproportions. The nature of the present historic stage in our country's development will require dedication, total faith, and support on the part of all Bulgarian people, strict discipline in all spheres and directions, reasonable frugality, and the rapid elimination of the excessive, unproductive, and ostentatious expenditures of the country.

The complex of measures for strengthening the Bulgarian lev and restoring its power and role in economic and social policy will have a special place in the work related to implementing the forthcoming plans on restructuring the country.

The party's new course inspires hope and optimism, without glossing over the difficulties and the necessity to invest much effort in directing the construction of socialism toward the interest of all people and society.

Boyko Dimitrov, minister of foreign affairs:

How will the Ministry of Foreign Affairs make its contribution to the country's renewal that began with the two November plenums of the BCP Central Committee? We must analyze the tasks which stem from the program incorporated in the two plenums' decisions and discussion and in the speeches of the general secretary at the plenums and after his election as State Council chairman. First of all, this applies to renewing the ministry itself in anything related to cadres, style, methods, and approaches and to eliminating the deformations that affected its functioning. Our work must acquire better quality, openness [otkritost], glasnost, and transparence [prozrachnost]. As a ministry we must conduct a foreign policy that conforms to the interests of the people, a policy of renewing socialism in our country.

Mladenov Appeals to Workers in Meeting

AU2011150389 Sofia BTA in English
1330 GMT 20 Nov 89

[Text] Sofia, November 20 (BTA)—The large majority of the Bulgarian people backs the new course of the BCP. The warrants for restructuring are in the people's support, said today Mr Petur Maldenov. [sentence as received]

Mr Petur Mladenov, secretary general of the CC of the BCP and State Council president met today workers of the Sofia plant Sredets, a producer and exporter of motor trucks.

In a speech at a meeting in the plant Mr Petur Mladenov appealed to workers and all Bulgarian citizens to back the building of a new, humane, democratic and just socialist Bulgaria.

The workers expressed their support to the new course of the BCP and raised slogans for democracy, openness and social justice.

Fatherland Front Supports Reforms

AU2211134889 Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT
in Bulgarian 18 Nov 89 p 1

[Editorial: "The Fatherland Ardently Approves and Supports Our People's Irreversible Cause and Destiny"]

[Excerpts] We witnessed the explosive effect which the recent decisions and specific actions of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] exerted on our society.

The decisions of the two recent plenums, the changes of cadres in the party and state leadership, the statements made by Comrade Petur Mladenov, the new general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and State Council chairman, the statements of public figures and activists, the broadly shared opinions of members of our civic society, and the multifaceted and diversified ideas expressed on the implementation of the basic trends of restructuring in our country are unanimous in approving a resolute break with the past, a confirmation of the new changes, and their inspiration with a real democratic and socialist spirit. All of this completes our impression that a deed which is not only irreversible, but of decisive importance for the people's destinies, has been accomplished in our country.

Our party's decisions in this respect have evoked hourly and daily response among all strata of our people. They inspired the Bulgarian citizens with great energy and evoked their involvement, their participation, and their readiness to contribute with real deeds. Hence, we can say that our people were fully prepared to meet these decisions, that they were greeted with great expectations, and that they mapped out even more specific trends for the individual and the collectives in implementing the restructuring process in our country.

Yesterday's rally of the Sofia public in support of restructuring organized by the Fatherland Front political and social forces was the first mass expression of this unusual response to the events. It was the first mass response of the people's approval and support; it expressed the people's thoughts and their resolve for bold changes and for bearing responsibility in all initiatives. Our organization which is called upon to unify the Bulgarian people once more manifested its historical vitality on this latest occasion. [passage omitted]

Despite all of this, we should admit that the restructuring process which is under way within the Fatherland Front is only at its beginning, that this process was frequently marked by outdated administrative approaches and attitudes, and that, precisely for this reason, the results of restructuring are still lower than what we expected and hoped for. Over a certain period our efforts to transfer activities to thousands of organizations disrupted the natural and necessary links between the organizations and the central leadership and made it difficult to develop feedback mechanisms and to ensure the natural influence and impact of the masses and the people upon the government and state administration, upon the establishment of a legal and normative system that should respond to the topical requirements of restructuring and to the demands of our time. [passage omitted]

The party adopted specific trends for its activities under the present requirements of restructuring. This involves real steps for our development in implementing the party intentions. The party showed us how to separate ourselves from outdated ideas, concepts, and approaches in the period of restructuring. This is not only an example that the party has set for us. It is an incentive for our comprehensive activities, for the people's actions, inspiring us to assume the entire responsibility for our deeds and for our cause devoted to the most lofty principles of our society, warning us that everything is within our hands, that everything depends on us. Today we are facing the correct goal and path, purged by our experience, purified by suffering. A great deed has been accomplished in the people's name. Our people cannot stand aside from this cause. This is a unique and great process of revival, the second breath of socialism, of socialist society, and of the socialist state.

This is the meaning and the lesson of the Fatherland Front's appeal to all of us and to everyone in particular.

National Assembly Members on Recent Changes

AU2211161489

[Editorial Report] Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian on 18 November, on pages 2, 3, and 4 carries a 1,200-report on statements made by several National Assembly members after the 17 November 11th session of the National Assembly.

Writer Nikolay Aleksandrov Khaytov, "people's representative from the 205th electoral district in Asenovgrad," points out that he "feels for the first time that things are changing." Stressing that in the past he and his fellow National Assembly members "had the feeling that their hands are tied," he imparts the following example:

"I do not whether you remember, but several years ago at one of the National Assembly sessions, a people's deputy, Panayot Yarumov, read a very bold statement against corruption, the economic chaos, and other irregularities in his region. He also made several conclusions. Afterward the man disappeared from here—he was no more a people's representative."

In conclusion Khaytov points out that "while it is obvious that we have not completed the process of democratization, we have begun it, and this is a lot."

Boris Petrov Spasov, "people's representative from the 227th Ruse electoral district," dwells on the importance of abolishing Article 273 of the Penal Code, and says:

"Perhaps at first glance the people do not understand the great significance of exonerating [dekriminalizatsiya] acts penalized on the basis of Article 273. Therefore I allowed myself to read this article's text at the National Assembly, so that the people's representatives, the mass media, and through them—the citizens—will have no doubts about its meaning. What happened was that we released the spirit of the citizens, so that they can think and say whatever they want—of course, when they are doing this in a honest manner."

Stefan Petkov Staynov, "people's representative from the 363d Popovo electoral district," explains why he opposed the proposal to interrupt the debates on the first item of the National Assembly's agenda [Zhivkov's removal from the post State Council chairman]

"I did it for two reasons. First of all, because I think that in our work at the National Assembly we must eliminate the practice of interrupting the debates, even if the majority votes to do so. The debates must continue until every people's representative, who thinks that he has to say something, does so. My specific consideration was related to the fact that I wanted to propose to not merely relieve Todor Zhivkov of the post State Council chairman, but to list the reasons for this decision. Let it be known why the National Assembly is relieving a former general secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] and State Council chairman, who has not justified the confidence of the National Assembly and the people."

Svetla Ancheva Tsvetkova, "people's representative from the 59th Veliko Turnovo electoral district," points out that the recent National Assembly session "really turned our National Assembly into a parliament." She stresses that "the statement of Slavcho Trunski put an end to many rumors and stories," and goes on to say:

"For me it is not only Todor Zhivkov who is responsible for the backwardness in economy and other spheres. Other persons also are guilty."

Specialists Discuss National Foreign Debt

AU2411182389 Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 17 Nov 89 pp 1, 3

[Report by Rumyana Bratovanova on meeting between docents Pavel Daskalov and Svetoslav Maslarov of the Karl Marx Higher Economics Institute and their pupils, graduates Aleksandur Vulchev and Tikhomir Nikolov, held in the editorial offices of OTECHESTVEN FRONT: "Can the Lev Buy Itself Convertibility?"—date not given]

[Excerpts] What is the state of the Bulgarian lev, and is a speedy reform for its recovery possible, in order to lead it out of the intricate money and foreign currency labyrinths? This subject is discussed by Aleksandur Vulchev and Tikhomir Nikolov, graduates of the Karl Marx Higher Economics Institute, with their professors, docent Pavel Daskalov and docent Svetoslav Maslarov. This time the editors chose for themselves the modest role of hosts to the meeting, and refrained from directing the discussion on the topic in any predetermined direction. [passage omitted]

T. Nikolov: The lev can be made convertible by administrative means. This will be external convertibility for foreign companies that invest in our country, as well as for our Bulgarian companies, which have a chance to participate in a foreign exchange market in which the rates for foreign currencies are set by the market itself.

OTECHESTVEN FRONT: How will this affect the Bulgarian lev, which in fact is our main concern?

Docent S. Maslarov: No perceptible effect will be felt; it will only affect those engaged in this market. This is not the kind of convertibility that our currency needs. In essence, our money is of no use even within the domestic economy. It merely represents generalized values indicating plan fulfillment, as well as being used in the economic exchange between enterprises. The goods producers are not producers of commodities in the true sense, because their product is not a commodity, but a product determined from above through a plan imposed by directive. [passage omitted]

Docent P. Daskalov: The classical definition of a convertible currency is that it is a "free" currency. However, it is not the currency itself that is "free," but the operations carried out with it. This will be possible in Bulgaria only if all spheres are liberalized. I am not sure that we have a clear idea of how this will come about. First and foremost, this entails opening Bulgaria up to the world and involving it in active participation in the international division of labor, with all its positive and negative sides. We will have to allow foreign markets to exert their effects—on prices, competition, and so on—with all the consequences stemming from this. [passage omitted]

OTECHESTVEN FRONT: Do you have any precise information on the inflation processes within the country?

Docent S. Maslarov: Do you have any in your editorial office?

OTECHESTVEN FRONT: Only unsatisfactory "reassuring" data from officials that is published in the press. It is claimed that no procedure exists for calculating the index of inflation. [passage omitted]

OTECHESTVEN FRONT: Are you not tormented by the unknown, the fact that you do not know so many things of importance for the country and for your own special subject.

Docent P. Daskalov: Such matters have ceased to bother us. We did not even smile ironically when 2 years ago the chairman of the National Bank answered a question from journalists concerning the foreign debt by referring to information from Western sources.

OTECHESTVEN FRONT: And what was the answer?

Docent S. Maslarov: The figure was 4 and ½ billion [currency not specified], which was true at that time.

A. Vulchev: The debt is now about 6 and ½ billion.

OTECHESTVEN FRONT: If the figure previously quoted was true, then it is also true that our foreign indebtedness is increasing at a furious rate.

Docent P. Daskalov: A figure of 10 billion [currency not specified] was reported according to foreign sources, which was much reduced, since it did not take into account current obligations, which will probably reach 2 billion. This means that the global figure for our debt is about 12 billion dollars.

OTECHESTVEN FRONT: Is this high or low?

According to P. Daskalov, this was a high figure for a country like ours. Poland, with a population of 50 million, has a debt of 39 billion. However, what matters for the specialists is not so much the amount of the debt, but its relationship to foreign currency receipts, what the money is invested in, and when the capital amounts and the interest will be repaid. [passage omitted]

Shevardnadze Greets New Foreign Minister

AU2211202289 Sofia BTA in English
1842 GMT 22 Nov 89

[Text] Sofia, November 22 (BTA)—Mr Boyko Dimitrov, minister of foreign affairs, has received congratulations on his election to this office from Mr Eduard Shevardnadze, minister of foreign affairs of the USSR, who expresses the confidence that the traditionally close Soviet-Bulgarian cooperation will keep progressing for the sake of a further strengthening the relations of fraternal friendship between the two countries and peoples.

In his reply, the chief Bulgarian diplomat expresses the conviction that the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] November plenums' policy line of socialist renewal in this country on the basis of democracy and openness will help improve and enhance further the friendship and cooperation between Bulgaria and the Soviet Union.

Prodan Stoyanov Receives CPC Working Group

AU2011212789 Sofia BTA in English 1840 GMT 20 Nov 89

[Text] Sofia, November 20 (BTA)—A working group of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), led by Mr Yang Dezhong, member of the CC [Central Committee] of the CCP and first deputy director of the General Office under the CCP Central Committee, paid a visit to this country from November 14 through 19 at the invitation of the CC of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party].

The Chinese guests were familiarized with the experience in the work of the Secretarial Department of the CC of the BCP. They were received by Mr Prodan Stoyanov, secretary of the CC of the BCP and head of the Secretarial Department of the CC of the BCP.

Sofia-Pyonyang Air Service Inaugurated

AU2111085989 Sofia BTA in English 0753 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] Sofia, November 20 (BTA)—A Tupolev-154 airliner operated by Chosonminhang, the Civil Aviation Administration of the DPRK, landed at Sofia airport today to set the beginning of an air link between the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and Bulgaria.

New CPCZ General Secretary Urbanek Biography

LD2511000689 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2130 GMT 24 Nov 89

[Text] Comrade Karel Urbanek was born on 22 March 1941 in Bojkovice, Uherske Hradiste District [South Moravia]. He comes from a large smallholder's family. He has been a member of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] since 1962.

During his study at the transport secondary school in Valtice, he worked actively in youth posts, working his way up to member of the district committee of the Czechoslovak Youth Union in Mikulov.

After ending his secondary school education, he worked as a train dispatcher at the train stations in Bojkovice, Hranice, and Prerov and, from 1970, he was stationmaster at Bojkovice station.

From 1973, he worked at the department for party work in industry in the South Moravian regional party committee and, at the same time, he studied externally at the CPCZ Central Committee's Political High School.

He was elected in 1982 to the post of secretary for party work in industry.

He became leading secretary of the Brno municipal party committee in 1984.

From 1988, he served as chairman of the Committee for Directing Party Work in the Czech Socialist Republic.

Comrade Karel Urbanek has worked actively in the party in the sphere of rail transportation. He has held a number of party posts. At primary organization level, he served as acting secretary and chairman. He was a member of the street committee organization in his home area. He has been chairman of the Brno Municipal CPCZ Committee. In addition, he has worked in various posts at district and regional level.

At the 17th CPCZ Congress, he was elected member of the Central Committee and member of the Central Committee's Youth Commission.

Comrade Karel Urbanek is the holder of the state distinctions "For Services to the Homeland" and "For Outstanding Work."

Control, Audit Commission Chairman Resigns

LD2611224289 Prague CTK in English 2211 GMT 26 Nov 89

[Text] Prague Nov 26 (CTK)—The Central Control and Audit Commission of the Czechoslovak Communist Party accepted at its today's session the resignation of its Chairman Jaroslav Hajn and Deputy Chairmen Miloslav Vecker and Eugen Turzo.

The commission elected Josef Trmala its new chairman.

Jakes Resigns as State Defense Council Chairman

LD2811142589 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1400 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Text] Gustav Husak, president of the Republic, accepted the request of Milos Jakes today to be released from the post of chairman of the State Defense Council in accordance with the Constitutional law on the State Defense Council.

Federal Assembly Chairman Indra Resigns

LD2811143289 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1400 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Text] Alois Indra, chairman of the Federal Assembly, announced today to Karel Urbanek, general secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee and deputy chairman of the National Front Central Committee, that he requests to be released from the office of the chairman of the Federal Assembly and as a member of its Presidium. Karel Urbanek thanked him for the work he has done until now.

National Political Situation Analyzed

CPCZ Secretariat Member Views

AU2411175589 Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 22 Nov 89 p 8

["(pm, pa, sa)"-signed report: "Soccer League Matches Canceled; A News Conference With Jindrich Polednik and Its Aftermath"]

[Excerpts] The issue of whether the empty audiences of many theaters throughout the republic ought to be followed by empty grandstands at sports grounds, especially soccer stadiums and ice-hockey halls was discussed by the chairmen of several sports federations with Jindrich Polednik, member of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee Secretariat and chairman of the Czechoslovak Physical Culture Association [CSTV] Central Committee. At his meeting with Prague journalists yesterday, Jindrich Polednik then explained the position on which they agreed: [passage omitted] "That which happened in Prague on Friday [17 November] was politically ill-judged and he who made that decision did far more damage than good. The international situation is as it is and Czechoslovakia has been left as a single small island on which interest has been focused. The possibility of this interest being misused had to be reckoned with. As a Communist I am saying it with a heavy heart that the party's authority is declining. That decision did nothing to enhance the party's authority and its policy as such, rather the reverse. It happened on 17 November and the context of the events of 50 years ago [when the fascist police cracked down on student demonstrators] inevitably comes to mind now, after 50 years. It had to be realized that the reaction could be as it was and is. And we can consider ourselves fortunate that what some Western information media reported [the death of a Prague demonstrator] did not happen. As the CSTV Central Committee, or at least as its Secretariat, we do not want to add fuel to the flames, we do not want to make the situation even more acute by supporting demands for the resignation of the Government, the departure of the general secretary, a completely free press, free elections, and all the rest that has been formulated and is being demanded at some places at present. We are of the opinion that it is necessary to take steps towards calming the situation." [passage omitted]

Work Committee on Situation

LD2211182389 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 22 Nov 89

[Text] The Committee for Party Work in the Czech Socialist Republic held an extraordinary session today, chaired by Karel Urbanek, and discussed the present political situation.

It stressed that the program of restructuring and democratization cannot be implemented during this emotional, tense, and chaotic atmosphere. Thus the committee considers it necessary to solve problems in a democratic way, without confrontation and violence. It is necessary to speak openly in working collectives and with the youth about the topical problems and to find common stands in the framework of a constructive dialogue.

CPCZ Extraordinary Session Reviewed, Criticized

Must 'Strive' for Leading Position

LD2511123189 Prague CTK in English 1131 GMT 25 Nov 89

[Text] Prague Nov 25 (CTK)—Czechoslovak tricolours were given out to the citizens in Prague Wenceslas Square this morning. People discussed yesterday's extraordinary session of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee.

Many people did not have sufficient information about the course and the results of the session because they were not able to read the newspapers. Long queues waited at newspaper stands as newspapers were not available due to a delay in their distribution caused by the fact that the session of the Central Committee lasted to late night.

The citizens of Prague and people living in the village as well told CTK in Wenceslas Square this morning that the activities of university students and the strike they declared, joined by a number of work teams, are not directed against socialism, against the Communist Party. They are against violence and brutality which can solve neither disputes nor suppress different opinions.

The demand heard in the addresses of numerous speakers for abolishing the constitutionl article fixing firmly the leading role of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia does not mean that the majority of Czechoslovak citizens are not aware that further development of socialism would be impossible without the Communist Party. The fundamental issue of time is not its removal from the political life of the state but the creation of such a political mechanism in which the party would have to strive for its leading position, as well as other parties associated in the national front, by increasing their abilities to react to the concrete needs of the party, the reality of the world we live in.

However, many voices uncompromisingly call for the removal of the party nomenclature impeding the natural initiative of people, preventing many talented and hardworking persons to fully use their abilities which is to the detriment of whole society.

Communists and workers from the capital's and other towns' enterprises also attend the discussions and rallies in Wenceslas Square to share these moments with the students. "Where are our representatives now,?" they ask. "Why are they not with us? Why do they not explain the party policy?"

Changes Termed 'Insufficient'

LD2511121489 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1030 GMT 25 Nov 89

[Text] We also wish to report to you the standpoints of work collectives with regard to the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] Central Committee plenum. Here is the standpoint from the Czech Ministry of Industry, which was telephoned to us:

My name is Engineer (Radomir Matyjas). I am chairman of the all-ministry Party Committee at the Czech Socialist Republic Ministry of Industry. An aktiv of the communists from the ministry, totalling 106 party members of the overall membership of 195, met at the Ministry of Industry. The aktiv adopted a standpoint on the conclusions of the extraordinary session of the Party Central Committee held on 24 November. The members of the CPCZ at the Ministry of Industry who met at the aktiv, convened for the purpose of discussing the resolution of the extraordinary session of the Central Committee, adopted this standpoint.

First, they support the change in the post of general secretary of the Party Central Committee.

Second, the cadres changes carried out in party leadership are considered by us to be insufficient, especially the retention of comrades Stepan, Zavadil, Knotek, and Lenart in leading posts. The cadres changes do not provide guarantees for tackling the present problems; the new program must be implemented by new people.

We therefore demand that an extraordinary party congress be urgently convened in order to elect a new Party Central Committee with the purpose of renewing the unity of the leadership and the membership base, and that the delegates this congress be elected by direct ballot.

The Communists from the Ministry also demand that the leading representatives of the party and state take an initiative stance when speaking with Civic Forum representatives. The Communists from the Ministry of Industry are aware that they are part of the management center, and that they are responsible for a certain contribution toward meeting the needs of society in the sphere of the light and chemical industry. Therefore, in close cooperation with the work collectives from state enterprises, they express their resolve not to permit exposure to danger the smooth functioning of the econmy and the vitally important needs of society.

Regional Response Reported

LD2511170289 Prague CTK in English 1619 GMT 25 Nov 89

[Text] Prague Nov 25 (CTK)—Support for newly elected General Secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Karel Urbanek and disapproval of election of some other party members to the leading functions were voiced by party plant committee at Poldi Kladno Caba steelworks in Kladno near Prague today.

In their resolution on further course of action of the party, members of the committee demanded speedy calling of another session of the party Central Committee to complete the solution of cadre issues in the party leadership, stating that another two representatives of workers and farmers should be elected to the Presidium.

They also demanded immediate launching of dialogue with all who respect the Czechoslovak Constitution, for which also possible demonstration of broad public can be used.

Also demanded is the setting up of a party Central Committee commission to investigate the responsibility of the former party Central Comnmittee leadership for the present crisis in the party and society and its failure to solve it by political means, especially after November 17, 1989.

Citizens who gathered at the peace square in Usti Nad Labem, North Boehmnia, at the time of an extraordinary session of the North Bohemian Regional Committee of the Communist Party today voiced disagreement with those members of the new party leadership who worked in the top functions before yesterday's resignation.

They demanded that cadre changes be also carried out in the North Bohemian region and in individual districts.

Demonstrators in Brno, South Moravia, consider Friday's cadre changes in the party presidium to be the first step towards fulfillment of the striking students' demands.

It follows from debates in the streets of the town and in students' centres that the new changes are not fully satisfactory since some functionaries sticking to the positions of old thinking and not used to democracy have been elected members of the leading party bodies.

Participants in today's session of the Communist party regional committee in Cseke Budejovice, the centre of South Bohemia, agreed on the need to immediately activate all communists from the central bodies to members of basic organizations, stressing at the same time the necessity to win support of honestly thinking people and other citizens for restructuring which is the determining condition of further development of socialism in our country.

Meanwhile, demonstrators who gathered in Zizka Square in the centre of Ceske Budejovice voiced disagreement with the cadre changes at yesterday's party Central Committee.

Urbanek, Kucera Discuss Session

LD2711152989 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1500 GMT 27 Nov 89

[Text] Karel Urbanek, general secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] Central Committee, met today with Bohuslav Kucera, chairman of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party. They briefed each other on results of the emergency session of the CPCZ Central Committee and the conclusions of the deliberations of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party Central Committee.

Karel Urbanek appreciated the fact that the Czechoslovak Socialist Party, loyal to its name, participates in the search for the further development of socialism on the platform of the National Front.

Both representatives expressed mutual support for an accelerated search for solutions to the complex situation in our republic and agreed that the solution has to be carried out on the basis of values of socialism and democracy.

Urbanek Speaks to Miners on Plenum

LD2811133789 Prague Television Service in Czech 1640 GMT 27 Nov 89

[Speech by Karel Urbanek, general secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee, CPCZ, at Nosek coal mine in Tuchlovice, Kladno District, on 27 November—recorded; broadcast in progress]

[Text] In the hot moments in Prague I had no idea that I would have time for the journey. The CPCZ Central Committee session lasted so long. The main aim of the session was to carry out more cadre changes in the party's Central Committee Presidium and among the secretaries. This was primarily because I did not expect the CPCZ Central Committee to elect me as general secretary and thus, logically, I was not ready for the solution of cadre questions. I asked the plenary session to convene, if possible, another plenary session at which more elections would be held.

I believe we are moving in the right direction by electing workers to the CPCZ CC Presidium. Comrade Huscava, incidently, is a miner from the North Moravian region. We are doing this primarily in order that views current in working collectives should be known at the body's sessions, especially when various political questions are examined. This is only commonsense, after all, for every working person.

Yesterdays's session of the CPCZ Central Committee also examined the present internal political situation which is very serious, very serious indeed. We are indeed at an intersection, and we should do everything possible to ensure the existence of socialism in our country. [applause]

I am glad that we find support in your working collective. But I must say openly that this is very far from the case in all working collectives. People are justified in criticizing the fact that some shortcomings—especially those which they have been frequently stressing—have been dealt with slowly. By this I refer not only to shortcomings in the work of central organs but also to shortcomings, if I may say so, in everyday life, in your mine, for example. I am convinced that you too at meetings of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movements raise your voices, but in your case this is at least eye to eye, and this should be the case everywhere and always. It is necessary not only to discuss matters but also to solve them gradually. When I say gradually, I do not mean in 1-2 years, but as soon as possible.

I have to say that the main discussion at the Central Committee session concerned the mass media. Comrades especially criticized the television that up to a certain time was objective and presented views of various people. This was done without emotions and passions, but unfortunately in recent time these emotions and passions have reached such a pitch that they can have unfortunate consequences. This should be remembered by everyone, everyone who gives in to this.

I personally am worried by the fact that only 1 month ago we saw on our television screen a factory where work was being done—we saw research and development workplaces, debates were taking place which were yielding results—and now it is as if we have forgotten the fact that without work nothing will be solved.

Comrades, I have not come here to lecture you in any way. I have came rather to verify, or better, to talk to you, to see for myself what views exists among people. Because miners do tend to be open—they have been molded by hard work to be such—I said to myself: maybe I will learn the truth from these real men—and also women, I see some here—whether the party has their trust or whether it has lost it. [Unidentified person calls: "Yes it has!"; Others applaud and chant: "Long Live the CPCZ!"]

Yes, comrade, I do apologize, the gentleman has the right to express his view. We do not have the right to prevent this.

27 Nov Strike Assessed

LD2711215689 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 2100 GMT 27 Nov 89

[Text] I have just received the following CTK report:

The Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] Central Committee Presidium at its session today dealt with the social situation in connection with the 2-hour general strike today. It appreciated the attitude of those working people who, for society's benefit remained in their places of work, as well as all other working people, members of the young generation, and other citizens who did not allow the strike to be misused for antisocial actions.

The Presidium supported all constructive demands voiced with justification in the course of the general strike, and at the same time ordered the relevant departments of the CPCZ Central Committee to responsibly examine them and the relevant organs to execute their gradual solution.

The Presidium stressed again that it relies—as it has been said in recent days by the CPCZ Central Committee—on citizens' prudence, the wisdom and experiences of the working class, agricultural cooperative workers, intelligentsia, and all citizens, as well as on a prudent attitude of both the working and student youth.

Democratic Forum Calls for Action

LD2811121589 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1100 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Text] The Democratic Forum of Communists, which was founded in Prague yesterday, issued a statement calling for the immediate drafting of Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] action program. Members of the Forum offered their help in drafting this program. Their statement, summarized in eight points, proposes, among other things, to repeal the article in the Constitution which gives the CPCZ the leading role, to prepare a totally new concept of party statutes, and to move forward the date for the extraordinary CPCZ congress.

The statement rejects the intervention of the Warsaw Pact member states in 1968 and demands the reassessment of ensuing developments. The meeting examined the future relationship between the CPCZ Democratic Forum and the Civic Forum.

Presidiums Meet; 29 Nov Joint Session Planned

LD2711204189 Prague CTK in English 1959 GMT 27 Nov 89

[Text] Prague Nov 27 (CTK)—The Presidiums of the two chambers of the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly met here today for their sessions presided over by Chairman of the House of Nations Jan Janik and Deputy Chairman of the House of the People Alois Hula. They agreed to call the 16th joint session of the two chambers on November 29, 1989 at which a statement on the present political situation will be discussed as well as other necessary measures for the solution of the situation in the country.

The Presidiums stated that elaboration of bills concerning restructuring of the economic mechanism continues intensively.

They further dealt with preparation for the December joint meeting of the Federal Assembly chambers, and decided to hold it December 12-13. The deputies are to focus on an extensive legislative program, mainly a bill on the state budget of the Czechoslovak Federation for 1990 and amendments to penal laws.

The Presidiums of the House of the People and the House of Nations also adopted measures for the establishment of a commission to investigate the November 17, 1989 events.

Havel Speaks at Civic Forum News Conference

AU2411144989 Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech 22 Nov 89 p 4

["(TOB)"-signed report: "Civic Forum's Aims"]

[Text] The Civic Forum movement, which was founded on Sunday [19 November] and which, at present, is the mouthpiece of several hundred thousand Czechoslovak people, held its first news conference yesterday. Domestic and foreign journalists were informed about the meeting between four of its representatives and L. Adamec, CSSR premier, to whom they handed a statement issued by Civic Forum which demands, among other things, the resignation of some Czechoslovak political officials, an investigation into the brutal intervention by security forces on 17 November 1989 in Prague, and the freeing of political prisoners. Civic Forum's representatives put forward this open association's other aims. The most fundamental aim was best expressed by Dana Nemcova, a Charter 77 spokesperson, who said: "We hope that a healthy social climate can be created to enable a free, democratic, and pluralist state to be established, a state which would be an equal partner in building the common European home." The playwright Vaclav Havel stated, inter alia, that Civic Forum does not feel it is qualified to conduct a dialogue with the representatives of power, but it does feel it is qualified to prepare the grounds for such dialogue. Its partner should be a qualified all-citizens' committee that would include a broad spectrum of our public.

Further on News Conference

LD2711224589 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2030 GMT 27 Nov 89

[Text] The Civic forum held a news conference today to brief journalists on developments in the last 24 hours. They said that the general strike, which was intended to be primarily a manifestation of the demands for free elections and other fundamental objectives of the Civic Forum, had been a success. Vaclav Havel reported that he met with Italian Communist Party representatives, who had expressed total support for the Civic Forum. He added that the Civic Forum is not an anticommunist organization, and voiced the conviction that all communists would bring about a revival of the party and compete for leading posts.

At the conference it was stressed that the Civic Forum would call for the release of 15 more political prisoners. As for specific demands at tomorrow's meeting with Ladislav Adamec, the Civic Forum will ask for the formation of a new government with a new program. If the government did not accede to this request, the forum would call for its resignation.

Valtr Komarek [director of the Economic Forecasting Institute] told the conference that we should in no case follow the example of other socialist countries as regards our further course of action. In contrast, our whole nation had risen up spontaneously to demand change.

The Civic Forum intends to set up a national coordinating center to arrange liaison between representatives of all the forum's local centers.

Civic Forum, Federal Government Hold Talks

LD2811093889 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0700 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Text] Civic Forum representatives will meet a delegation of the National Front of Czechoslovakia Central Committee and the federal government in Prague today. This meeting was the subject of a news conference held in the Laterna Maqica Theater in Prague yesterday given by the Civic Forum. Forum representatives said that they want to ask Ladislav Adamec to set up a new government with a new program. If he says yes, the Civic Forum will formulate their demands. If the answer is no, it will demand the resignation of the government.

We expect, they declared, that the president of the republic will understand the present situation and will ask that the government be formed by a candidate who will truly express the interests of the Czechoslovak public and who will be willing to enter into negotiations with the Civic Forum right away.

Civic Forum representatives went on at the news conference to propose an end to the nationwide strike movement as the Forum's demands are being partially fulfilled. The Forum's coordinating center will monitor their implementation while, at the same time, relying on strike readiness. They also recommend that the strike committees be turned into civic forums at all levels.

Forum's Havel, Adamec Begin Talks

LD2811134989 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1100 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Text] A meeting between a delegation of the CSSR National Front Central Committee and the Federal

Government on the one hand, and representatives of the Civic Forum on the other, is going on in the Federal Government Office of the Presidium in Prague. Miroslav Ditrich reports on location:

[Ditrich] The delegation of the CSSR National Front Central Committee and the Federal government is led by Federal Prime Minister Ladislav Adamec and the Civic Forum delegation is led by Vaclav Havel.

And what we have seen up to now. The representatives of the Civic Forum arrived shortly before 1100 [1000 GMT]. They were surrounded immediately by both us and foreign journalists. A MLADA FRONTA correspondent asked Michal Horacek what they were taking with them to the talks and he replied great hopes. The rest did not want to say anything for the time being.

The talks opened at 1100 behind closed doors. We do not know any details yet. Journalists will be briefed on the outcome of the talks at 1400 at a press conference. And now I am handing you back to the studio.

Agreement Reached

LD2811141689 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1300 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Text] A delegation of the National Front Central Committee and the Federal Government met with representatives of the Civic Forum. The delegation of the National Front and the Federal Government was led by comrade Ladislav Adamec and the delegation of the Civic Forum by Vaclav Havel. Miroslav Ditirch and Jana Havligerova report on the results of the deliberations:

[Havligerova] As we have already reported, the deliberations between the delegations started at 1100, lasted for 2 hours, and at the beginning were conducted in a considerably excited atmosphere, above all because views and approaches on how to solve the present situation were far from identical. After a lengthy discussion, the delegation of the National Front Central Committee and the Federal government acceded to a constructive agreement comprising the following conclusions:

By 3 December this year the federal premier will recommend that the president of the Republic appoint a new government. It is envisaged that it will be on a broad coalition basis. It will consist of nonparty and other parties' members, including the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] and it will, above all, be a government of experts.

[Ditirch] The Federal Government will use its constitutional power and propose that the Federal Assembly change the Constitution of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic in these three Articles: First, dropping the clause on the leading role of the CPCZ; Second, dropping the clause on the close character of the National Front and the leading role of the CPCZ in it; Third, dropping the clause that dictates that education is carried out in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism and will be replaced by a term that education is being carried out in harmony with scientific knowledge and with the principles of humanity and humaneness.

[Havligerova] Federal Premier Ladislav Adamec also promised that he would ask the Prague National Committee to give the Civic Forum the necessary premises for its activities.

[Ditirch] As Minister Marian Calfa said, the atmosphere of the deliberations turned gradually into a constructive one, in an effort to find positive solutions.

New Government To Be Proposed

LD2811133589 Prague CTK in English 1311 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Text] Prague Nov 28 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Premier Ladislav Adamec will propose the composition of a new federal government by December 3, under an agreement between delegations of the Czechoslovak National Front, the federal government and of the Civic Forum, reached today.

This was announced at a press conference, following the meeting of the delegations here today.

Radio Communists Protest CPCZ 'Half-Measures'

LD2511132889 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1200 GMT 25 Nov 89

[Text] Communists, program makers from the Central News and Current Affairs Broadcasting, at the Czechoslovak Radio building held an ad hoc meeting this morning to take a stand on the current situation and react to yesterday's Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] Central Committee session. They hold the unanimous view that radio reporting must be fully in the spirit of Leninist principles of public information. They are resolved to report objectively all current moods and attitudes of Communists and all citizens of our homeland and thus to contribute to the resolution of the situation.

Communists who have participated in today's aktiv of Czechoslovak Radio Central News and Current Affairs Broadcasting have protested resolutely against the half-measures taken by yesterday's CPCZ Central Committee session, which in their view are as equally ineffective as the inertia of the past days. We are in favor of resolute offensive political measures by the Communist Party, which cannot however be carried out by people who in the past have lost, by their activity and attitudes, credit with ordinary party members and all citizens of our country.

Czech Radio, Civic Forum Discuss Media Policy

LD2511133789 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1200 GMT 25 Nov 89

[Excerpt] A meeting was held today between the management of the Czechoslovak Radio and representatives of the Civic Forum of the staff of the Czechoslovak Radio. The meeting discussed proposals put forward by representatives of that initiative. The radio management and members of the Civic Forum have agreed it was necessary that radio reporting of the events of the present days was positive, truthful, and total.

This afternoon the radio will transmit a direct relay on Hvezda station [Prague Domestic Service] from a meeting to be held in Prague, Letna. During the demonstrative strike next Monday, with which the Civic Forum of Czechoslovak Radio has expressed its solidarity, direct inputs will be incorporated in the broadcast about the course of the meeting. The radio management has also promised to give scope in broadcasting to representatives of the Civic Forum Initiative Association. Members of the Civic Forum of the Czechoslovak Radio will be given a telephone to enable listeners to phone in directly their comments. [passage omitted]

Prague Youth Union, Civic Forum Hold Talks

LD2611181289 Prague CTK in English 1548 GMT 26 Nov 89

[Text] Prague Nov 26 (CTK)—The Prague City Committee of the Czechoslovak Socialist Youth Union and the Civil Forum organized in the Julius Fucik Park in Prague today a dialogue at which all participants could express their views on the current political situation in Czechoslovakia and the prospects of this country.

The meeting was addressed by representatives of the Youth Union City Committee, independent groups, Communist Party members and people not affiliated to any party. They often voiced the view that the Czechoslovak Communist Party should not have a monopoly on the leading role in society. They also spoke of founding new independent political parties and stressed that it is necessary to differentiate between people not according to political affiliation but according to whether they are able and honest or not.

Member of the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly Evzen Erban said for instance that it is necessary to form now a team of the best scientists and other specialists from all over the country who would seek a way out of the present crisis. Others also expressed sympathies with the striking students.

Socialist Party Resolution on Dialogue, Government

LD2411201789 Prague CTK in English 1400 GMT 24 Nov 89

[Text] Prague Nov 24 (CTK)—The present political situation in Czechoslovakia was discussed at a meeting of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party here today.

The resolution adopted at the session asked the Presidium of the Socialist party Central Committee to propose and discuss an immediate convening of a meeting of representatives of all political parties, social organizations of the National Front, civic initiatives and churches with the aim to start a dialogue on the future of Czechoslovakia. The Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party demands at the same time that before democratic and free elections are held, governments of national agreement should be formed. It will push for speedy discussion and approval of bills on the right of assembly, association, petition, election, press and publishing activity. Chairman of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party and deputy chairman of the Federal Assembly Bohuslav Kucera in his address at the close of the session stressed that the party has never obstructed dialogue and is resolved at present to pursue prudent policy based on the principles of independence, internal unity and to complete its own action program and amendments to its statutes in the nearest future, in the interest of strengthening socialism in Czechoslovakia. He stressed that the Czechoslovak Socialist Party must pay greater attention to international relations and pointed out: "We live in the foreground of central Europe and must realize that beyond our Western borders there exist forces which applaud democratization in our country while at the same time considering revenge. There is no alternative for us but alliance with the Soviet Union which is the only real force able to prevent revanchist forces from carrying out their intentions," Kucera said.

Adamec Holds Talks With Literary Representatives

LD2211175489 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1700 GMT 22 Nov 89

[Text] Today Ladislav Adamec, premier of the federal government, met Miroslav Valek, chairman of the Union of Czechoslovak Writers, and Jiri Hajek, literary critic.

During talks they exchanged views on the present internal political events, situation and stances of our cultural front as well as on ways out of the current social tension.

Journalists Union Expresses 'Alarm' at Events

LD2211230889 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2030 GMT 22 Nov 89

[Text] The Czechoslovak Union of Journalists Central Committee Presidium issued a statement today which expresses alarm over the events of the last few days.

The statement says that the differences of opinion can be solved only through constructive dialogue, in a spirit of democracy and humanism, and on the National Front's platform.

The journalists ask for an objective investigation on the excessive intervention by the forces of law enforcement in Prague on 17 November. Therefore, they welcome the decision of the Federal and Czech Governments to investigate this event objectively and thoroughly.

The Czechoslovak Union of Journalists at the same time sharply condemned the way in which, contrary to journalistic ethics, some people in connection with Western mass media spread false news and use lies to provoke passions and emotions, at a time when a sober and level-headed assessment of the situation is needed in the interest of the unity of our nations.

Issues Statement

AU2411222189 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 23 Nov 89 p 2

[Statement issued by the Czechoslovak Journalists Association Central Committee in Prague on 22 November]

[Text] The Czechoslovak Journalists Association Central Committee has issued the following statement: We sharply condemn methods with which—at variance with journalistic ethics—some people in association with Western mass information media are spreading false reports and are misusing untruths to unleash passions and emotions at a time when, on the contrary, it is necessary to soberly and deliberately evaluate the situation in the interest of our nations' unity. In light of the danger of further misinformation, we appeal to the civic responsibility of every journalist to contribute via his work and professional approach to calming society and to asserting a creative atmosphere necessary for social restructuring.

In this connection, we demand that journalists have guaranteed extensive access to information from all competent organs in order that they can fulfill the fundamental mission of journalistic work—providing truthful and timely information.

We appeal to our members and to other employees in the mass information media not to succumb to attempts to break up the unity of the journalists association, attempts which have occurred in recent days and which do not help the developing dialogue.

We are doing everything to ensure that journalists have conditions corresponding to their activity. Therefore, we have requested the CSSR Federal Assembly not to debate the prepared amendment to the press law, an amendment which we have rejected, but to quickly submit the proposed principles for the new press law to us for broad-based discussion.

Drama Union Supports Open Dialogue on Events

LD2211230289 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 22 Nov 89

[Text] The Union of Dramatists' Central Committee Presidium adopted a stand yesterday on the current complicated situation in our republic. It stressed that a solution cannot be found without an open and principled dialogue by all those who are not indifferent to the fate of our country and its future. It refuses extreme approaches and condemns the action against the students in Prague on 17 November. At the same time, it supports the intention to lead an open dialogue in theaters and proposes that the television and radio in Slovakia provide space for such a dialogue on a broader social platform.

Bratislava CPSL Aktiv Holds Emergency Meeting

Knotek Attends Aktiv

LD2511105289 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1000 GMT 25 Nov 89

[Text] The conclusions of the extraordinary session of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee are being discussed in Bratislava by the aktiv of the Presidium and members of the West Slovak Communist Party of Slovakia Regional Committee, the regional control and audit commission, and other officials of the region. Ivan Knotek, member of the Presidium and secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee is participating in the aktiv.

Action Program Urged

LD2611205489 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 26 Nov 89

[Text] Participants in an emergency meeting of the Bratislava Communist Party of Slovakia [CPSL] City Committee adopted a statement in which they appealed to all the city's communists to approach questions and problems of everyday life with full awareness of their responsibility as party members.

They called the resolution adopted at an emergency session of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] Central Committee of the 25 November this year the first, very important step toward revitalizing activization force of the party in the process of restructuring and democratization of our society. At the same time they expressed their support for the newly elected CPCZ Central Committee general secretary and conviction that the Central Committee would take a course of principle in close cooperation with wide strata of citizens in analyzing the situation of the past period, after drawing consequences regarding faults and shortcomings.

At the same time the CPSL City Committee statement demands to speedily work out the action program of the party and convene extraordinary congresses of the CPCZ and CPSL through direct election of delegates in the party primary organizations.

The CPSL City Committee called the current internal political development in our country a process of the renewal of socialism. It demanded that the request of the great majority of Bratislava Communists to reassess the 1968-1969 years and to re-evaluate the entire period of the development in the party and our society which followed is respected.

The CPSL City Committee appealed to all workers not to interrupt work in coordination with the general strike, which was called for, and to express their position as they can in such a way that the strike does not have an impact on the nation's economy.

Further on Aktiv

LD2711200289 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 27 Nov 89

[Text] An all-Slovak aktiv of functionaries of city park committees' chairman of enterprise committees, party committees, and primary organizations of the CPSL [Communist Party of Slovakia] is to meet this evening in Bratislava's Park of Culture and Leisure. Included on the agenda are questions of the present social development, and the further approach of Bratislava communists connected with this prior to the extraordinary Czechoslovak Communist Party Congress.

Session Continues

LD2711210889 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 2030 GMT 27 Nov 89

[Text] The extraordinary session of the Communist Party of Slovakia [CPSL] Central Committee, which was adjourned last night, continues in Bratislava today. The session is chaired by Pavel Hrivnak. Ignac Janak, Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] Central Committee Presidium member and first secretary of the CPSL Central Committee, reported on the proceedings of the CPCZ Central Committee session in a short opening speech. A discussion then followed.

Session Ends

LD2811112789 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 0600 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Excerpts] The extraordinary session of the CPSL [Communist Party of Slovakia] Central Committee ended in Bratislava in the early hours of this morning. [passage omitted]

The Central Committee promoted the following comrades from the candidate membership to the full membership of the CPSL Central Committee: Jozef Antonik, Imrich Gula, Maria Hadusovska, Stefan Juhasz, Beata Kacejova, Peter Paprcka, Anna Pavolkova, Michal Spunta, Bozena Storova, Vojtech Svantner and Elemir Vajas. [passage omitted]

Communists' Meeting 'Stormy'

LD2811093189 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0800 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Text] A stormy atmosphere characterized last night's meeting of Bratislava Communists at a city-wide aktiv which was to tackle the further course of action to be taken in the present sharpened political and social situation. After a lengthy, but frequently unspecific and insufficiently argued debate, the majority of speakers agreed on several common points. Above all they pointed critically to the still insufficient cadre changes in the highest party bodies. The communists from Bratislava indentified themselves fully with the demand to repeal in the Constitution the leading role of one party. At the same time they demanded the convening of the Federal Assembly and the calling of free elections. The meeting of Bratislava party activists continued late last night with a debate on individual items of the statement proposed.

Presidium Makes Changes

LD2811092889 Prague CTK in English 0812 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Text] Bratislava Nov 28 (CTK)—The Central Committee of the Slovak Communist Party carried out the following changes at its special session which ended early in the morning:

It relieved:

Ondrej Saling of the post of member of the Presidium and the Secretariat of the Slovak Communist Party, of secretary and member of the Central Committee and of chairman of the commission for agriculture and food and for work with the youth in connection with his election member of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Presidium and Central Committee secretary.

Gejza Slapka of the post of member of the Presidium and the Secretariat of the Slovak Communist Party and of secretary of the Central Committee at his own request.

Elena Litvajova of the post of member of the Presidium of the Slovak Communist Party at her own request.

Viliam Salgovic of the post of member of the Presidium of the Slovak Communist Party at his own request.

Stefan Rybar of the post of Slovak Communist Party Presidium member at his own request.

And elected.

Rudolf Schuster, Michael Blanar, Anna Abelovicova, Vladimir Cirbes and Milan Pruninec members of the Presdium of the Slovak Communist Party.

The Session decided to convene a special congress of the Slovak Communist Party for January 20, 1990.

CTK Reports 'Action Measures'

LD2811101989 Prague CTK in English 0854 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Text] Bratislava Nov 28 (CTK)—A two-day special session of the Slovak Communist Party, which ended early today, discussed topical questions of the political situation in the country.

It stated that an irresolute approach since the beginning of students' strikes, simplified evaluation of the causes of the social and party crisis and the consequent unjustified reaction to the events significantly and quickly shifted development to the border of the struggle for the fate of socialism and the position of the party in society.

The Slovak Communist Party Presidium presented a proposal of action measures concerning the calling of a special congress and working out of an action program of the Slovak Communist Party.

The special sessions of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee and the Slovak Communist Party Central Committee stressed the following principles of the action measures:

1. Not to proclaim the leading role of the party in a constitutional or other way but to implement it in the struggle for the interest of the people, the nations and nationalities.

2. In the interest of the construction of a state based on the rule of law, to incorporate into the prepared draft Constitution of Czechoslovakia, the Czech Socialist Republic and the Slovak Socialist Republic the demands of the people formulated these days, and to speed up the elaboration of a law on elections as well as the elections themselves.

3. To evaluate the history of the Czechoslovak Communist Party under socialism, mainly the causes of sociopolitical crises, especially in 1968, as an attempt at a social reform and the restoration of socialism. This is one of decisive prerequisites of renewal of confidence of the people in the realization of social restructuring. The session pointed out the following tasks:

1. To intensify a dialogue about the country's socialist future with political parties and social organizations associated in the Slovak National Front and start it with civic initiatives.

2. To conduct dialogues with former leading functionaries of party and state bodies and communists who left the ranks of the party in 1970 and want to joint the reconstruction of socialist society.

3. To mobilize communists at all levels for meeting the justified demands of students.

4. To help create scope for plurality of views, timely and truthful information of the public in mass media by means of communists.

5. To mobilize party bodies and organizations and all party members to incessantly implement the economic tasks.

6. To use the party's political influence on power bodies so that they help protect the health, lives and property of all citizens, and to concentrate their influence on the struggle with crimes, corruption and other pathological phenomena.

7. To introduce young, creative, educated and politically mature people into party work at all levels.

8. To urgently prepare a platform of the Slovak Communist Party Central Committee for revolutionary reconstruction of the party and for leading society out of the crisis and after a debate at the nearest session of the Slovak Communist Party to present it to the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee.

9. To prepare the party for gaining political influence in general, secret elections.

Approves Report; Janak Ends Session

LD2811142389 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1000 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] The Communist Party of Slovakia [CPSL] Central Committee has approved at its extraordinary meeting a brief informative report on the political situation in Slovakia, the proposed ways out of it, and action measures to tackle the current situation. It instructed the CPSL Cental Committee Presidium to discuss at the next meeting a course of action.

In his concluding speech Comrade Ignac Janak asked for active help specially in the preparation of the content and in terms of cadres of the extraordinary CPSL Congress so that the congress will bring the necessary revolutionary spirit of the ranks of Communists.

Czech National Front Holds Special Session

Supports Students' Demands

LD2511215989 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2030 GMT 25 Nov 89

[Text] At a special session today, the Central Committee Presidium of the National Front of the Czech Socialist Republic adopted a statement supporting students's demands for the establishment of a Federal Assembly commission to investigate objectively the events of 17 November. It commends the activity of students and citizens who by their attitudes are helping to bring about a general restoration of the health of our society and speed up the deepening of democratization and the development of restructuring. The Presidium's statement stressed that the National Front is open to all movements which have sprung from civic initiatives and will express the pluralism of views, programs, and interests while preserving the fundamental principles of socialism and the Czechoslovak Constitution. It goes on to demand that the Czech Government speeds up preparations and announces a date at which draft legislative amendments on the right of assembly and asociation, press and publishing law, the law on the environment and the law on petition will be submitted to the legislative bodies. It also demands that the Czech and federal government submit to the Czech National Council and the Federal Assembly the final version of the draft principles governing democratic elections and enabling the candidatures of independent candidates, which will then be submitted for public discussion. The Czech National Front Central Committee Presidium is to supervise the implementation of the conclusions of this statement.

Further on Session

LD2811102289 Prague CTK in English
0919 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Text] Prague Nov 28 (CTK)—The Presidium of the Czech National Front Central Committee yesterday decided to conduct a dialogue in the framework of the National Front at all levels as an effective form for expressing topical political problems.

The Presidium held a special meeting here last night attended also by representatives of the Front's regional committees.

Opening Up Front Supported

LD2811134589 Prague Domestic Service
in Czech 1130 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Text] The Prague City National Committee presidium has given its support to the proposal of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the National Front of the Czech Socialist Republic to open up the National Front to all movements that have grown from civic initiatives. In particular it stressed the need for a dialogue with representatives of the Civic Forum in seeking ways to tackle jointly specific problems facing the people of Prague.

The City Committee Presidium of the National Front has also called on citizens in Prague to give their active support to ensuring an uninterrupted functioning of the live system of the city.

People's Party Presidium CC Holds Session

Issues Statement on Situation

AU2311152589 Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE
in Czech 22 Nov 89 p 1

["RE"-signed report: "Statement of Presidium of Czechoslovak People's Party Central Committee on Current Political Situation"]

[Text] At its extraordinary session convened on the basis of the 17 November events in Prague, the Presidium of the Czechoslovak People's Party [CSL] Central Committee adopted the following statement.

The CSL Central Committee Presidium is filled with consternation about the current development of the political situation that recently has arisen in Prague and some other cities of our Republic. In accordance with the voices of the membership base and the standpoints of the party bodies, and in accordance with our Christian views and ethical and moral principles, we are against the use of violence as an instrument to resolve social and political issues. Therefore, we condemn the tough course of action against the demonstration of the youth, students, and the working people of the capital on 17 November 1989. We demand that the action be investigated and that conclusions be drawn from the entire affair, which will prevent a repetition of similar cases.

If we are to bear coresponsibility for the development of society as partners and allies of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, we must have the opportunity to express ourselves in advance on matters affecting the whole of society.

Therefore, we demand that representatives of political parties immediately get together and begin negotiations which should result in a society-wide dialogue between all the main directions of democratization that support the principles of the further development of socialism and representatives of our fatherland's political system.

The CSL Central Committee Presidium expresses the conviction that in the interest of the whole of society a way out of this grave sitution will be found and that the CSL members and bodies, by their prudent stance, will contribute to this.

Presidium, Secretariat Resign

LD2611182889 Prague Domestic Service
in Czech 1730 GMT 26 Nov 89

[Text] The Czechoslovak People's Party Central Committee Presidium held an extraordinary meeting today to discuss the present political situation. It found it has committed many mistakes in its work, and these have grown, under the pressure of current events, into a party crisis.

The Presidium is aware of the fact that it has lost the confidence of the membership base, as well as contact with current political developments. The Czechoslovak

People's Party Presidium has weighed the current situation and its share in it and has come to the conclusion that the only path to restore unity, and thereby to restore the party's capacity to act, is to carry out the necessary cadre changes. For this reason the entire Presidium and Secretariat have tendered their resignations to the Czechoslovak People's Party Central Committee. They have convened a meeting of the Czechoslovak People's Party Central Committee, including candidate members, members and candidate members of the Auditing Commission, as well as chairmen of the district party committees for tomorrow at 1800 [1700 GMT] in the Grand Hall of Charita in Prague.

Elects New Leadership

LD2811102489 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0900 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Text] The Czechoslovak People's Party elected a new leadership in Prague in the early hours this morning. (Josef Vartoncnik) was elected party chairman; Bohumil Svoboda was elected first vice chairman; and (Frantisek Rajchl) was elected second vice chairman. (Richard Sacher) was elected general secretary of the Czechoslovak People's Party. At the end of the meeting, the party's Central Committee adopted a policy statement.

People's Party Publications Issue Protest

AU2311192389 Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech 21 Nov 89 p 1

[Statement by LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE editorial office adopted at meeting of its work collective on 20 November]

[Text] "Members of the editorial collective of the daily LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE are fully aware of the need for a free dialogue with everyone who loves his fatherland and wishes sincerely to contribute to its further development. This is the only road which is evidence of a democratic approach to the solution of problems that have arisen, a road which every humanely thinking and Christian-minded citizen of our fatherland should take today. The brutal intervention by the security units against peacefully demonstrating students on 17 November 1989 is absolutely at variance with that demand; the consequence was the aggravation of tension and of actions in the following days. No wonder that these violent actions drew a response in statements by the students of the higher institutes of learning, among representatives of the SSM [Socialist Youth Union], in the ranks of theater artists, and other organizations of our citizens. Therefore, we demand that the causes for similar actions against citizens be speedily investigated and that all contentious problems be solved in a democratic way, and that human rights be recognized in the full sense of the word of the Final Act of the Helsinki conference and the Vienna followup meeting.

"Members of the collective of the LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE editorial office, having had their own bad [nedobra] experience in the years that have just elapsed, when the editorial office was fined for publishing materials which did not fully correspond with the view of the superior organs or individuals, are of the opinion that the deliberations in the Federal Assembly on amending the press law should be postponed since a) the draft text of the amendment was not presented to the pertinent bodies of the Czechoslovak Union of Journalists for discussion, and b) the collective of the editorial office is convinced that the best and only way to really help journalists is to complete and discuss as fast as possible the text of a new and comprehensive press law, a matter that has precisely been postponed all the time by constantly amending it.

"The collective of the LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE editorial office will gladly publish the standpoint of the supreme bodies of the Czechoslovak People's Party on the current situation. It should fully correspond with the Christian character of our party, which also has in its program the safeguarding of the rights of believers and other citizens of our state in the spirit of humaneness and the preservation of human dignity." The Presidium of the Czechoslovak People's Party Central Committee is holding a meeting in Prague this morning.

The editorial offices of the party weekly NASE RODINA and the biweekly NASE POLITIKA have also joined this statement, without anonymity.

Prague CSL City Committee Holds 2d Activ

Call for Leaders Resignation

AU2411222389 Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech 22 Nov 89 p 3

["p"-signed report]

[Text] Members of the Czechoslovak People's Party [CSL] Prague city organization, representatives of other regional organizations, and of the current of renewal in the party met in Prague yesterday at the second aktiv of the Prague CSL City Committee. They were delighted to hear Cardinal Frantisek Tomasek's message, whose opinion is also our opinion, the opinion of CSL members. The participants gave their full backing to the statement of the Prague CSL City Committee of 20 November and voiced the demand that those who are responsible for the moral, economic, political, and ecological crisis of society step down from their posts. They expressed their disapproval of the wording of the statement of the CSL Central Committee Presidium, delivered by Brother J. Kana, CSL deputy chairman, and voiced the demand for the resignation of the CSL leadership, which is incapable of leading the party at the present time.

Stepan Addresses Officials

LD2511101689 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0900 GMT 25 Nov 89

[Text] An aktiv of officials of city party oganizations is now in session in the Congress Hall of Prague Palace of Culture. Miroslav Stepan, Presidium member of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] Central Committee, chief secretary of Prague City Party Committee, spoke about the conclusions of Friday's special session of the CPCZ Central Committee, and on the immediate tasks of the City Party organization in the capital.

Statement on CPCZ Session

LD2511161489 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1455 GMT 25 Nov 89

["Statement" adopted by Prague Communist Party aktiv on 25 November]

[Text] We consider the present situation in the party and society to be crisis-ridden, but the attitude of Communists shown at today's city party organization aktiv gives hope for a fast renewal of society's trust in the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ]. We therefore propose clear identification of political responsibility for the order to use force on 17 November, as well as the present situation in the party and society. We do not want administrative or legal assertion of the leading role of the party in society. We do appreciate the attitude of youth and healthy forces in the nation who maintain socialist positions. We demand a national agreement on the basis of equal partnership for all progressive forces in society as the basis of renewal of trust in the Communist Party.

Further cadre changes in party organs are a necessary prerequisite. We want the CPCZ Central Committee to meet immediately to continue cadre changes, and further approach of organs should follow it with the strengthening of workers, farmers, and intelligentsia in these organs.

We acknowledge the resignation of Comrade Miroslav Stepan from his posts, which he announced at today's aktiv. We propose the resignation of Comrade Miroslav Zavadil from his posts, as the role of the CPCZ has not been ensured in the trade union movement.

We are demanding the convocation of an extraordinary congress of the CPCZ in the shortest possible time, as the party statutes make it possible, with a direct election of delegates from primary organizations.

We are turning to all working people not to stop work and to express in a manifest manner their support for the new leadership of the party and the statement from today's aktiv of Prague Communists.

We are demanding objective, truthful information for society from all mass media.

We are appealing to all CPCZ members to strengthen the action unity of the party and people.

Further on Aktiv

LD2511183789 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1132 GMT 25 Nov 89

[Unidentified correspondent's report—monitored in progress]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] I'd like to recall that at the aktiv today, chaired by Viktor Pazler, the Prague City Party secretary, the first speaker was Miroslav Stepan, whose speech was interrupted by participants who were in disagreement. He was followed by a representative of Czechoslovak television Communists, who said that Communists from television will report very truthfully everything that we have experienced. Another delegate then said that it is not Charter 77, but people who were on Wenceslas Square. [sentence as heard] Comrade Tichy, a warden from an apprentice training school, recalled that the Communist Party won in 1948 because it had the support of the people; now it has partially lost it and it is necessary to regain it. A representative from the Motorlet works said that Motorlet workers had enormous difficulties in the strike committee and that it is necessary to hand a [word indistinct] over to the hospital in Motol to provide treatment for children.

A representative of Faculty of Philosophy proposed that an extraordinary party congress be convened where delegates would be elected directly from primary organizations for such a congress. A representative of Mitas works said that the party must win its leading role by its program and by implementing it. He then went on to say that Communists' standpoints must be first of all discussed in primary organizations and only afterwards should they be discussed by the party Central Committee.

An elderly woman from the second primary organization in her place of residence, recalled that Communists have always fought for power in this country and that historically they shared some chairs in the government. She said that the situation in Prague has always been crucial for this Republic. She was followed by Martin Ulcak, chairman of the city committee of the Socialist Union of Youth, who since last Saturday has in effect been fighting with young people for their demands. He proposed that the Central Committee meets again to finish its work for yesterday and recalled the standpoint of the Socialist Union of Youth in Prague. Otakar Skalsky from a party neighborhood organization said that the situation caught Communists at the top unaware because they have not been living with us at the bottom.

A group of workers, representatives of all the important plants in Prague, then submitted their demand for the immediate recall from the party of Miroslav Stepan and Miroslav Zavadil. The main reason for the demand to recall Zavadil is that the trade unions have not been functioning as they should have, it was said. Comrade Prusa, the worker who conveyed the workers' standpoint, won enormous support of those at the Congressional Hall in the Palace of Culture. [passage omitted]

Pazler To Head Party Committee

LD2611004389 Prague CTK in English 2345 GMT 25 Nov 89

[Text] Prague Nov 26 (CTK)—The session of the city committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party elected in a secret ballot new members of the Presidium and Secretariat of the city party committee today and charged secretary Viktor Pazler with leading the committee.

In a resolution the city party bodies supported the stand adopted at the meeting of Prague Communists on Saturday as well as Communist Party General Secretary Karel Urbanek.

Under the resolution an extraordinary conference of the Prague city party organization will be held to adopt a program of action until the city party conference due in March 1990.

Aktiv Approves Statement

LD2611132289 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1130 GMT 26 Nov 89

[Text] [Announcer] We are again at the Palace of Culture in Prague, and it is almost time for a statement to be read, a draft of the statement.

[Unidentified speaker] Read the text slowly!

[Unidentified speaker] Comrades, this is an amended statement from the deliberations of an aktiv of Prague Communists on 26 November 1989.

The aktiv of Prague Communists states:

First: The people of Czechoslovakia were wiser than the leadership.

Second: There is a need to complete inequivocally the forming of the leadership of the party and state, including the president of the republic and governments.

Third: The conclusions adopted here cannot be final—we must, all communists from the primary organizations and the Central Committee of our party have to express their views on them.

Fourth: We propose to form centers of discussion on topical political questions, including the assessment of the crisis years 1968-1969 as well as the entire period afterward.

Fifth: The party goes with the working people, youth, and students. Regarding the general strike, we repeat again our stance expressed yesterday: We appeal to all workers not to disrupt work and to publicly show their support for the general secretary and the new leadership of the City Party Committee as well as for the statement issued by our aktiv.

Five A: Regarding the Civic Forum—we will engage in a dialogue.

Sixth: We demand that by Monday, 27 November 1989, by 0800, the general prosecutor of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic speak and reveal who gave an order for the intervention on 17 November 1989.

Seventh: We demand that today one of the constitutional representatives (ustavni cinitel) speak and assess how the students' demands, which we have endorsed, were fulfilled and state how those not yet fulfilled are to be fulfilled.

Eighth: The suggestions and proposals which originated in today's discussion will be put forward to working groups formed at the City Committee of the CPCZ [Czechoslovak Communist Party], and these suggestions will be used as the data for the deliberations of an emergency city conference of the party.

Eight [as heard]: We demand that a change is immediately carried out regarding the post of the RUDE PRAVO editor-in-chief because of serious political mistakes made during past days.

Ninth: We ask Comrade Pazler to immediately inform the comrade general secretary about the deliberations of today's aktiv—about conclusions and deliberations of our aktiv.

That was the amended statement.

Comrades, you heard a draft of the statement put forward by the draft commission. In keeping with what we voted for a while ago, I ask those of you who are in support of this statement to raise your hands. Comrades: Who is against?

I state that there is one vote against. [reacting to voices from the audience] I am sorry, there are about three of them. Simply, I state that we approved the statement by absolute majority.

Officials Discuss Situation

LD2611145689 Prague CTK in English 1254 GMT 26 Nov 89

[Text] Prague Nov 26 (CTK)—Participants in today's meeting of officials of the Prague City primary organizations of the Communist Party continued discussions on the present situation in Czechoslovakia.

Viktor Pazler, whom last night's extraordinary session of the Prague City Committee of the Communist Party put in charge of heading the city committee, informed the meeting of the results of the secret election of new members of the Presidium and Secretariat of the Communist Party Prague City Committee and of conclusions corresponding to the current political situation in Prague. These conclusions included for instance the convocation of a special city party conference which would lay down the action course of the party in the current period.

Mayor of Prague Zdenek Horcik spoke of the deteriorating current situation in the life of the city, often including declining working morale, and from the position of his post openly called for normal functioning of the Prague city transport on Monday. 'We even have certain problems with the supply of raw materials and other material to Prague', he said. He therefore appealed to the present functionaries of party organizations i.e. representatives of Prague plants and institutions, to discuss these questions with people.

A representative of the CKD Lokomotiva works spoke of yesterday's events namely the fact that the Civil Forum did not allow a delegation of the meeting of officials of the primary organizations of the Prague Party City Committee to address the rally held in the Letna Plain in Prague and inform it of the stand adopted by their meeting.

'We met last night with Mr Kocab in the Magic Lantern (Laterna Magika Theatre) where we handed over to him our stand and offered him an open dialogue in the television', he said and added 'we also think that it is necessary to publish who bears political responsibility for the Friday November 17, 1989 events'.

Central Trade Union Council Holds Session

Receives Letters on 17 Nov Events

LD2311145389 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1400 GMT 23 Nov 89

[Text] More than 300 statements, appeals, and resolutions have so far arrived at the Central Council of Trade Unions from primary works' organizations of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement, trade union sections, working collectives, and workers' meetings.

They demand a full explanation of the 17 November action of security forces. They express support to the process of retructuring, but demand acceleration of the economic and political reforms, and a dialogue with the National Front. They appeal for the preservation of calm, prudence, and civic responsibility, and the determination to defend socialism. A number of workers collectives express concern that a general strike in the present situation would deepen social chaos.

Council Head Zavadil Resigns

LD2611181689 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 26 Nov 89

[Text] An extraordinary plenary session of the Central Trade Union Council began in Prague at 1730 this afternoon. Members and candidate members of the Central Council are discussing the current internal political situation and examining the state of Revolutionary Trade Union Movement.

At the beginning of the proceeding Miroslav Zavadil made a speech and resigned from his post as chairman of the Central Trade Union Council.

Elects Henes Chairman

LD2711020789 Prague CTK in English 0007 GMT 27 Nov 89

[Text] Prague Nov 26 (CTK)—Today's extraordinary plenary session of the Central Council of Trade Unions adopted the following conclusions:

It canceled its Presidium's statement of November 21, 1989 and considers it a serious political mistake since it did not correspond to the existing socio-political situation.

It considers the manifestation and the form of participation of workers in a general strike called for November 27, 1989, to be a matter of a democratic decision of every (trade union) member and workteam.

It expresses thanks to workers, farmers, youth and members of the intelligentsia who have shown a revolutionary approach to the speeding up of societal restructuring and defence of socialism.

It demands that an action program of the revolutionary trade union movement be speedily worked out, corresponding to the political, economic and social needs of workers.

The election commission at today's Central Trade Union Council session accepted the resignation of Miroslav Zavadil from his post of its chairman and member of its Presidium and Secretariat.

It also accepted the resignation of Jan Buday, Stanislav Jurica, Jiri Neubert, Miroslav Spaniel and Marcela Vokrouhlikova from the posts of members of the Presidium, Secretariat and the functions of secretaries of the Central Trade Union Council.

Karel Henes, until now chairman of the regional trade union council in central Bohemia, was then elected new chairman of the Central Trade Union Council by a secret ballot. The council's secretaries will be elected at its next plenary session.

Cardinal Tomasek Holds Meetings, Issues Appeal

Meets Presidium Member Stepan

LD2211182789 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1520 GMT 23 Nov 89

[Text] Miroslav Stepan, member of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee and leading secretary of the City Party Organization and chairman of the City Committee of the National Front in Prague, met Frantisek Cardinal Tomasek. Bishop Jan Lebeda, Zdenek Zuska—mayor of Prague [as heard], and Vladimir Janku, deputy minister and director of the Secretariat of the Federal Government for Church Affairs, attended the meeting.

Topics discussed at the meeting included preparations for Saturday's [25 November] final celebrations in

Prague of the canonization of Agnes of Bohemia, as well as the present internal political situation.

We recorded the following at the meeting:

[Begin recording] [Stepan,] I simply wanted to ask how you assess the present situation in Prague, what you think about it. I also wanted to offer, as the chairman of the City Committee of the National Front in Prague and leading secretary of the City Party Committee, relevant—not help, but I would say a sort of cooperation—in cases where you feel it necessary as far as Saturday is concerned.

We will be very pleased—and I say it openly—if this big Saturday celebration will echo the interest of the patriotic and other efforts of our people,—as we say nowadays, the interests of restructuring and democratization—if it will contribute to the proper strengthening of all those honest things in our country. I am nowadays a head of the National Front in Prague and therefore I am also interested in a good attitude on the part of the big, honest, majority of Prague's public, and in this specific celebration which follows the celebration in the Vatican.

I welcome you cordially once more, cardinal.

[Cardinal Tomasek] I must thank you for this invitation, so we can, in such personal meetings, really specify in more detail and clarity, and investigate all things as needed, to avoid unnecessary problems.

As far as Saturday is concerned, I would assess it as not only a church event but as really concerning our entire society, and consequently we are preparing it in this spirit, to present it in [words indistinct] important and at the present time even more important than ever before.

I returned here from Rome on Monday and therefore I am just getting acquainted with the situation which has [?really] surprised me and that is why I cannot tell you my view. I am just investigating and checking it in order to be able to express my view on it when the issue is ripe.

Because I was not here during the time in question, I still need a few more days to get acquainted with it and properly assess it—then I will be able to express my view openly.

I am convinced that goodwill exists on both sides and good conditions exist to put everything in really the right position and to avoid unnecessary complications.

I am convinced we can succeed because I do not have any doubts that goodwill is on both sides.

[Stepan] People are enormously concerned that we are moving forward in the interest of the people, so they can have a good life and are satisfied. All those things which were said, what we want to do together—these days we call it restructuring and democratization—are easy to say but involve a lot of, I would say, tricks, various aspects, views, and opinions. We think it is totally natural that there are different views—and there is also a need to listen to them carefully.

Of course, as representatives of Prague we are also interested in Prague not being a besieged city, probably everybody has such an interest. We are far from simplifying the situation in any way, or thinking that those are ill-judged gatherings or ill-judged marches. We are fully aware that it is a sensitive matter of our time which needs to be analyzed and recognized. That is why there is a need for much discussion. We are pleased that people have now begun to discuss a lot and frequently.

This is kind of encouraging because where there is discussion, where there is dialogue, something can be born which can assist very much indeed in such matters as the acceleration of changes in restructuring and democratizations, but I think you will agree with me—to give a great opportunity for the largest possible circle of people to take part in this work, in this initiative. This cannot be expressed simply by declaring it, but it can be ensured by the creation of conditions and also, I would say, of goodwill on all sides, of willingness, tolerance, and patience. I would like, Mr Cardinal, on behalf of the mayor, to assure you that concerning the leadership of the city, the leadership of Prague, concerning the party, concerning the CPCZ, its Prague leadership, [words indistinct] we have intentions not only to act in this way but also I think that we have enough vision to approach this.

[Tomasek] Allow me to say that we clergy, believers, and more so bishops and other ordinaries, agree with you about all we have in common because this is our No. 1 duty.

[Stepan] I am convinced we can sometimes do more jointly in this respect for youth to be credited with basic purity, morality, and an appetite to learn and achieve more than those before us. You are more experienced by your age, above all by your lifetime experience. I think that you can possibly agree with us.

[Tomasek] One has to agree with this completely. (?This is like when two meet) and openly discuss views on problems and (?then start) to solve them.

[Stepan] This requires being able to listen to each other. But as a rule the case is such: Sometimes there is no agreement about what the subject of the discussion or the dialogue is. I would like to say that we are very interested indeed, in this country, to advance on the path of prosperity. You, of course, cannot have a goal other than prosperity, for people to be happy, to feel good at home. And for this it is necessary not only for this country to look pretty, to function well, but also for the spirit to be healthy, I would say, for the optimism to be the foundation of thinking. And I think we should now give several impulses for this in order to achieve this state everywhere.

[?Tomasek] [words indistinct] would also stress that the first step towards the solution of all problems is indeed a meeting and then the rest is made easier after that, I would say.

[Stepan] The meeting is most important and the best preparation for this meeting is when it does indeed take place. In this connection I would like to express thanks to you that it has taken place and to wish you success, all the best, and good health for the future. I believe that, in our common course,—the restructuring, democratization, socialism—we rely on the basic understanding and I think that this is quite important.

[Tomasek] I would like to add to this that I thank you very much indeed for the (?kind) invitation. [end recording]

We have acquainted you with the proceedings of today's meeting between Miroslav Stepan, member of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee and leading secretary of the Prague City Party Organization and the chairman of the City Committee of the National Front in Prague, with Cardinal Frantisek Tomasek. The meeting was also attended by Bishop Jan Lebeda, Zdenek Horcik, mayor of Prague, and Vladimir Janku, deputy minister and director of the secretariat for church affairs of the Federal Government.

Daily Carries Appeal to Nation

AU2311173589 Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech 22 Nov 89 pp 1,2

[Unattributed report: "Cardinal Frantisek Tomasek: To All People of Czechoslovakia"]

[Text] Dear fellow citizens;

I am appealing to you a few hours after my return from Rome where I participated in the canonization of our Agnes Promyslovna. She, the king's daughter, left for the seclusion of a monastery because of her love for God and fellow human beings. However she stayed forever with her nation in its victory and humiliation.

I can not be indifferent to the fate of my nation and all the citizens of our state. I must not be silent in the moment when you are united in a mighty protest against the injustice which has been committed against you for 4 decades. It is impossible to trust a leadership of a state which is not prepared to speak the truth and denies the rights and liberties—considered normal even in the most recently formed states of the world—to our country which has a tradition of a thousand years of statehood.

I wish to throw light on our common situation through experiences of the Catholic Church in our country. Complaints and demands issued on its behalf were ignored with haughtiness. Only when the Catholic people in their hundreds of thousands raised their voices at Velehrad in 1985 and after a petition last year were small steps taken. The president reacted only a half-year ago to my offers last year for a dialogue. But in reality only insignificant gestures took place.

The church continues to be in the thrall of state power, as determined by an imposed legal regulation from the Stalinist period. A bishop is totally dependent on state authorities as far as the administration of his diocese is concerned and the state secret police have the decisive word. Meetings of bishops and priests are being suppressed by the presence of state officials. In the atmosphere that lacks freedom, adult believers and their children and especially young Christians can breath only with difficulty. They promise us that a new legal amendment on the position of churches will be in harmony with international norms and civil liberties but not even a word was spoken about the governing party giving up the program of the gradual elimination of faith. It is impossible to trust these people.

Similarly, there are unfortunate situations also in other spheres of social life—in science, culture, the information field, social, civic and political life.

From the West as well as from the East we are surrounded by countries which in the past or presently have broken the bars of totalitarian systems. We cannot wait any longer either. There is a need for action.

We need a democratic government because otherwise we will be unable to halt ecological disaster and other ills. All those who have something to tell us have to come forward so that we can select from among them, through democratic elections a government for us and not against us.

It is time now when we are all called to assume responsibility for our present and future and that of our children. We are with you, friends, who call for justice for all. I speak with thanks and respect above all to the victims of brutal violence. Christ's words: Blessed are those who hunger for justice for they will be rewarded, apply to you.

The demand that those who are guilty are punished is on the whole just. I only beg you to continue, in the future, to follow the path of nonviolence. Let us fight for the good using good tools. We can see from the example of our oppressors how short-lived are the victories of malice, hatred and revenge, greed, ruthlessness, and haughtiness.

I also wish to speak to you, my Catholic brothers and sisters together with your priests. In this hour of fate in our history, nobody can remain uninvolved. Raise your voice again, this time united with other citizens, Czechs and Slovaks and members of other ethnic minorities—believers as well as nonbelievers. The right of faith cannot be detached from other democratic rights. Freedom is indivisible.

I conclude with the words which have once been said in our history: With God's help our destiny is in our hands.

[Dated] 21 November 1989

[signed] Frantisek Cardinal Tomasek, bishop of Prague and primate of Bohemia

Tomasek Protests Media Reports

AU2711153789 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 25 Nov 89 p 2

["red"-signed article: "Letter From LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE Editorial Office"]

[Text] On Friday [24 November] we published a note headlined "In Prague Archbishop's Honor," in which we asked whether there was not a contradiction between Cardinal Tomasek's appeal published in LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE (22 November) and his statement when meeting with Miroslav Stepan, chairman of the City Committee of the National Front in Prague, as reported by LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE and MLADA FRONTA.

On Friday [24 November] Stanislav Toms, LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE chief editor, sent our editorial office a letter from the cardinal which states:

"I protest the distorted way in which media reported my talk with Mr Miroslav Stepan. As a pastor of the Church I am trying not to refuse anyone who asks me to talk with him. However, the meeting with Mr Stepan definitely cannot be regarded as the dialogue I have been vainly calling for for years.

"I fully insist on my message to all people of Czechoslovakia. In the current struggle the Catholic Church stands on the side of the nation. I thank all who are now working for the good of all, and I have full trust in the Civic Forum, which has become the spokesman of the nation.

"Cardinal Frantisek Tomasek, with my own hand."

We are publishing this text for information, simultaneously with LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE.

Agnes Canonization Mass Held in Prague

LD2511105189 Prague CTK in English 1003 GMT 25 Nov 89

[Text] Prague Nov 25 (CTK)—A pontification mass marking the canonization of Agnes of Bohemia is taking place now at St. Vitus Cathedral in Prague.

The mass is celebrated by archbishop of Prague and Primate of Bohemia Cardinal Frantisek Tomasek and co-celebrated by other prominent Catholic dignitaries.

During the ceremony attended by several thousand believers the statue of Saint Agnes Premyslide will be consecrated.

Tens of thousand of pilgrims from whole Czechoslovakia gathered in the Prague Castle courtyard and its surroundings. The mass is live broadcast by Czechoslovak television.

Official Slovak Youth Union Urges Caution

AU2311101189 Bratislava SMENA in Slovak 21 Nov 89 p 7

["From the Standpoint of the Slovak Central Committee of the Socialist Youth Union"]

[Text] The standpoint adopted by the Slovak Central Committee of the Socialist Youth Union [SSM] yesterday [20 November] states, among other things:

"If restructuring is to succeed, we need calm. Upheaval in the streets, discussions on footpaths, or polemics in town squares will not help to resolve problems. We do not see the road forward to lie in the elimination of socialism or of the party's leading role, or socialist democracy. The young generation must have scope for dialogue. We are convinced that the recent nationwide SSM conference placed clear stress on the need for problems and young people's legitimate interests and needs to be dealt with. We want to actively assert all of these things on the platform of the SSM and to insist on their being resolved. We will also take the opportunity of the upcoming meeting of the Secretariat of the Slovak Central Committee of the SSM and the Presidium of the Government of the Slovak SR, as well as of talks with other state bodies and the bodies of the National Front, to pursue this end.

We are calling on you, members of the SSM, on all Slovak youth, particularly the students of the institutes of higher learning, not to let yourself be carried away, not to let yourself be provoked by antisocialist forces to rash, pointless, and imprudent actions. Only conscientious everyday work and a sense of civic responsibility will further the common cause of restructuring."

Striking Students Appeal to Police, Army

AU2411215189 Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 22 Nov 89 p 2

["cek, rd"-signed report: "We Are Opposed to Violence"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] The staff of the City Council of University Students had a very busy day throughout yesterday, receiving representatives of strike committees at the faculties, giving advice, issuing instructions, such as "Tear down any posters put up by provocateurs calling for repressive actions against Communists!" It also drafted the following appeal to members of the Public Security Corps, the Czechoslovak People's Army, and the People's Militia: "We are appealing to your conscience and civic responsibility. Do not allow yourselves to be misused. We do not want any wrong culprits to be punished, what must be tackled are the causes which led to the bloody consequences of [the demonstration of] 17 November. We, students, are reaching out to you. Prevent further violence!" Yesterday morning, the following topical proclamation was also issued: "We, the striking university students, dissociate ourselves from the provocative pronouncements of the so-called Young Left and similar organizations. We are opposed in principle to violence of any sort because we got to feel it on our own bodies." [passage omitted]

22 Nov Party Press Coverage of Unrest

AU2411153889

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 22 November devotes the following items to the current unrest in the country, in addition to correspondents' reports on demonstrations in Wenceslas Square and an emergency session of the Prague party committee; an appeal by the Prague party committee to workers and armed forces to prevent anarchy and disruption; and a commentary by Michal Spilka on the strikes in Czechoslovak universities and theaters:

On page 1, under the headline "Let Us All Show High Degree of Civic Responsibility, Common Sense, and Prudence," it carries the 850-word Milos Jakes television address to the nation. On the same page, it carries a 550-word CTK report on Premier Adamec's meeting with "representatives of civic - circles"; a 60-word report on the reception of a delegation of Kladno enterprises by Milos Jakes; and an 80-word report on the reception of church leader Josef Hromadka by Premier Adamec.

On the front page, under the headlines "Workers' Word from the Kladno Steel Works" and "Views From the Zilina Avia Plant," RUDE PRAVO also publishes the opinions of workers, totalling 1,000 words, on current domestic political events. In their statements the Kladno and Zilina workers condemn the behavior of the striking students and artists and some of their demands, such as the call for a general strike. As one of the Zilina workers says, "we do not want to end up like in Poland." On the other hand, the workers agree with the planned investigation into the police crackdown on the 17 November Prague demonstration, although one of them calls it "outrageous" that the students compare the Czechoslovak police with the Gestapo. Several workers also criticize the party leadership. Worker Vladimir Vanek says that party functionaries should go to the universities and answer students' questions "lest someone else take over the initiative; the trust of young people is at stake." Worker Jaroslav Erba says: "We, workers, will always be the party's mainstay. Even now, because it is our party. But I cannot agree with the way the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee Presidium has reacted to the situation. What is an appeal for calm good for when it does not at the same time contain a standpoint on the solution to problems?" Erba continues: "At a moment like this, the highest representatives of our party must appear before the nation and say how to deal with the situation. CPCZ Central Committee secretaries, including the general secretary, should go to enterprises and appear before workers' collectives, students, the intelligentsia, journalists, actors, and the like and be active in enforcing the policy adopted by the Central Committee. This is a correct policy. I mean personally active, so that their approach can serve as an example for us." Vladimir Sus, another Kladno worker, says that "restructuring will move ahead faster when there will be greater turnover among cadres in all party, state, and economic functions. We say that young people should be given the green light. So let us really give it to them. The composition of central bodies does not indicate that we are doing so."

On page 2, RUDE PRAVO publishes a 2,500-word unattributed roundup of statements, appeals, and resolutions by political and public organizations, institutions, labor teams, and individuals reacting to the latest events. These include, first, a summary of a statement issued by the Central Trade Union Council Presidium; a report on the "standpoint" of the Slovak National Council Presidium; and a statement adopted by the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship Society. Next follow statements by several Socialist Youth Union (SSM) organizations, all of which are critical of the striking students and artists.

The statement of the Presidium of the Prague City Council of the SSM Pioneer Organization "condemns" the actors and management of Prague theaters for having canceled their performances for children and for having "acquainted them with their declarations instead." We "protest against such manipulative use of children," the statement says. Members of an SSM organization from Ostrava- Vitkovice express their support for the statement of the SSM Central Committee Secretariat of 20 November and its demand for the investigation of the police action of 17 November, but they add that they "disapprove of the strike movement" and will work a special Saturday shift instead.

A statement by the Secretariat of the West Slovak SSM Regional Committee disagrees with the characterization of the 17 November demonstration as "open dialogue" and asserts that, in West Slovakia, conditions exist already for a dialogue between young people and party and state bodies. A group of eight unidentified students of the Faculty of Philosophy of Charles University expresses their disapproval of the SSM Central Committee Secretariat and SSM Faculty Committee statements on the 17 November events. The students explain that they have not joined the strike at their faculty because "a strike is not a method of coming to terms with current problems." They also challenge the SSM Central Committee Secretariat's and the SSM Faculty Committee's right to speak in the name of all students and express their opposition to the fact that the SSM Faculty Committee "invites Charter 77 representatives to the school for discussions."

A similar position is expressed also in a statement issued by the Karvina SSM District Committee. The statement endorses the joint CSSR, Czech Socialist Republic, and Slovak Socialist Republic Government statement of 20 November and expresses "disapproval of the conduct of young people, especially students, in Prague and other CSSR cities" and "of the statement of the SSM Central

Committee Secretariat." The Karvina SSM functionaries' statement expresses support for dialogue between young people and the "leading representatives of our society," but contends that it must be a dialogue that is "free of emotions, strikes, and provocative actions." The statement agrees with the "expeditious solution to the problems of the young," adding, however, that these are not identical with the "demands that are being raised in the streets by young people who have been manipulated by people who are inimical to our system."

The RUDE PRAVO roundup of statements also includes letters from individual citizens. Miloslav Weiss from Prague says that the "current provocations and demonstrations seriously disrupt the normal functioning of our society and slow down the process of restructuring." He also accuses LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE of having "poured oil on the fire" in its 21 November issue and asks why the people's party daily writes about the "peaceful nature" of the demonstration, while ignoring the "iron rods" in the demonstrators' hands and their slogans such as "Death to Communists" or "Down With the State Security Corps." Weiss notes that such "distortion of facts" reminds him of the journalistic practices of 1968 and 1969. He calls on journalists to write "truthfully and without bias" to "prevent the spreading of rumors and help the party gain the support of all people of our country."

Reader Milena Kroupova from Ceska Lipa protests against the cancellation of a performance in a Liberec theater on 19 November and reader Miloslav Hendrych from Kadan takes issue with the organizers of the 17 November demonstration because they failed to prevent demonstrators from "attacking the party, the Government, and the socialist social system."

RUDE PRAVO concludes its roundup of statements by saying that it also received a number of statements by organizations and individuals which disagree with the police action of 17 November, demand its investigation, favor a society-wide dialogue, or describe RUDE PRAVO coverage of the events as "one-sided." However, the party paper does not publish any of these statements.

On the same day, on page 2, RUDE PRAVO carries a 100-word report on the number of wounded and hospitalized persons as a result of the 17 November action. Also on page 2, it carries a 1,200-word article by Jan Lipavsky and Vaclav Marek on their visit to the Faculty of Journalism of Charles University the preceding day. The authors call it "astonishing" that the organizers of the strike at the faculty invite people like Vaclav Havel to discussions at the school, while "none of the functionaries of the CPCZ and the Government whom they criticize has been invited to such a discussion." They question whether "a discussion can be democratic and pluralistic when people of only one political orientation are invited." Speaking about the excited atmosphere at the faculty, the authors say that "there is talk of various rumors, such as that there are tanks at the CPCZ Central Committee building." The discussions at the school reportedly revealed that the students are "infuriated" at the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and the CSSR Government statements of 20 November because they "did not address the main causes of the situation and did not condemn the intervention by the security forces" and that the students are "critical of the information policy of RUDE PRAVO." The authors also mention that posters announcing a meeting of the party organization at the faculty have been torn down. The Lipavsky and Marek article also contains interviews with Michal Sedlacek, representative of the strike committee at the faculty, and Sarka Kubackova, chairwoman of the SSM Faculty Committee. Sedlacek says that the strikers have mostly political demands and that the strike will continue until "legal guarantees are provided that the students' demands will be fulfilled." Asked why the students did not turn with their demands to the CPCZ Central Committee, the Government, or their deputies, Kubackova says that the students "do not trust these ways," with Sedlacek adding that there is no guarantee that their criticism would not land them "in the hands of the security forces."

Also on page 2, under the headline "With Full Civic Responsibility," RUDE PRAVO carries a 600-word article by Vladimir Vedra, deputy chairman of the CSSR Federal Assembly. In his article, Vedra first expresses understanding for the "emotions and passions" of young people and "assures" the students that the investigation of the 17 November events "will be absolutely objective." He invites young people to participate more in public meetings with parliamentary deputies and thus become involved in the drafting of new legislation. It is at public meetings that they should assert their "views and suggestions," Vedra says, and "not in an environment that is full of emotions, such as in the streets of Prague these days, because there it is impossible to conduct a constructive and reasonable dialogue." Vedra appeals to the demonstrating and striking young people "not to let themselves be carried away to commit actions which are at variance with the progressive development of the socialist society and with the innermost interests of our people." He says that the strikes of students and actors "disrupt the work of our citizens" and "run counter" to the efforts of workers and farmers to fulfill the 1989 plan and asks them to realize that "the attempts to call a general strike are directed, in essence, against the results of the struggles and work of previous generations and against the interests of our people and their social security."

On the same day, on page 7, RUDE PRAVO carries a 1,100-word correspondents' roundup on foreign press coverage of developments in Czechoslovakia. RUDE PRAVO and CTK correspondents in Washington, Paris, London, and Bonn criticize the media in the country of their accreditation for continuing to "nourish speculations" about the death of a student during the Prague demonstration of 17 November and for basing their reports solely on Vaclav Havel and other Charter 77 sources. The Moscow, Sofia, and Warsaw correspondents report on the reaction of the Soviet, Bulgarian, and Polish party press to the Prague events. Also on page 7, RUDE PRAVO carries a 400-word commentary by Jan Kovarik, RUDE PRAVO correspondent in Bonn, entitled "Cynicism? Indeed, But Whose?" The author takes issue with two West German press (SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG, DIE WELT) commentaries on the situation in Czechoslovakia, accusing the first commentary of "cynicism" and questioning the logic of the other (because it linked the current protests in Prague with the demands of the Sudeten Germans for self-determination). On page 8, finally, RUDE PRAVO carries a 300-word CTK report on an extraordinary session of the Government of the Czech Socialist Republic of 21 November and a 100-word CTK announcement on the postponement of all soccer league matches scheduled for 22 and 23 November. The decision has reportedly been made after the soccer federation "weighed up the overall situation," in order to "avoid possible complications." RUDE PRAVO's sports page also quotes a statement by the Sparta Prague ice-hockey team, read out before a match on 21 November, expressing solidarity with the demands of the striking students.

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 22 November publishes the following items on the current situation in the country, apart them those which are also published by RUDE PRAVO or that have been filed from other sources:

On page 1, PRAVDA carries a 500-word communique on a session of the Communist Party of Slovakia Central Committee Presidium. The passage dealing with the Presidium's assessment of the domestic political situation is previously covered. On pages 1 and 2, the Slovak party paper carries two roundups of statements, totalling about 3,000 words, that have been issued by various organizations, institutions, party organizations, and individuals. These include a 200-word statement by a "newly formed organization" calling itself "Association of the Public Against Violence." In this statement the association "demands a change in the Government's attitude to the brutal violence of order-enforcement units [on 17 November], which is inconsistent with the Government's proclaimed political solution to problems." It also "appeals to the chief editors to see to it that the mass information and propaganda media under their supervision publish only truthful information," "voices appreciation for the restraint shown by order-enforcement units in the Slovak Socialist Republic," and "expresses full agreement with the standpoint of the [Charter 77-led] Civic Forum." PRAVDA does not mention any names associated with this new organization. Another statement, issued by the Slovak Writers' Union, reportedly "endorsed the statement of the Association of the Public Against Violence," stressing that "the current situation cannot be resolved by undemocratic means; genuine dialogue is possible only on the platform of a civic society, through discussion between equals, without any a priori supraordination of any segment in this social dialogue." Most statements by party organizations and labor collectives carried in the Bratislava PRAVDA roundup are critical of the demonstrations, calling them "provocations" and condemning Charter 77 for "misusing" young people against socialism. Monitor notes, however, that unlike on 20 and 21 November, on 22 November RUDE PRAVO and Bratislava PRAVDA do not publish any resolutions of party organizations or individual statements which would demand the use of "all legal means and forces" to prevent the "provocations."

On pages 1 and 2, PRAVDA also carries a 2,400-word roundup of correspondents' reports on student rallies and discussions taking place in Slovak university towns. These include an account of the student rally held in Bratislava's Hviezdoslav Square and of a discussion meeting held at Comenius University the preceding day. Characterizing the discussion, the PRAVDA correspondents deplore that while "at first, proposals for the solution to students' legitimate social demands prevailed," after speeches made by students who had arrived from Prague, "explicitly political questions moved to the foreground." Those who wanted to raise the problem of student accommodation were reportedly shouted down with the argument these demands are irrelevant because "what matters today is a change in the political system." PRAVDA's East Slovakia correspondent Jan Markovic, who reports on an "improvised meeting" of some 3,000 students in Kosice, notes that the students demanded, inter alia, "permission to stage a demonstration on 24 November in support of the acceleration of the process of restructuring of the economic mechanism." Kosice Mayor J. Tribula, who spoke to the students, reportedly replied that "he sees no reason why the student demonstration should not be permitted, provided that all conditions arising from the law on assembly are met." Central Slovakia correspondent Milos Niederland gives an account of a "peaceful protest march" by 3,000 students in Banska Bystrica, which had been authorized by the city national committee. The students reportedly demanded an investigation into the police action against Prague students on 17 November, as well as "a more principled and vigorous action by central party and state bodies in implementing democratization and public access to information." Presov correspondent Jozef Juriscin reports on the student strike at the Presov faculties of the P. J. Safarik University. Apart from expressing support for the demands of the Prague students, the Presov students reportedly demanded a "faster pace of the process of democratization," "academic freedom," and the acceptance of students' suggestions for changes to the university law. All correspondents stress that, even though emotions ran high, the discussions and rallies in Slovak university towns did not "disrupt public order."

Also on page 2, Bratislava PRAVDA carries a 400-word Frantisek Kavansky commentary entitled "Panorama

Rides on an Anti-Czechoslovak Wave." The commentary responds to the fact that, in its 19 November issue, Hungarian Television's Panorama program spoke about "the death of student Martin Smid" in Prague, "ignoring convincing arguments" such as official Czechoslovak denials and Martin Smid's personal appearance on Czechoslovak Television. Kavansky says that, although "one has already grown accustomed" to Panorama giving "incorrect and unobjective information" on Czechoslovak affairs and providing a platform for "the self-same people saying the self-same things," this latest program was "a slap in the face of journalistic and civic ethics and an irresponsible act toward millions of viewers." Kavansky concludes his commentary by stating that the makers of the Panorama program are not interested in truth and that their main concern is "to win political spurs on an anti-socialist wave." The false reports on Martin Smid's death, this time in Western media, are also the subject of a 600-word Bedrich Zagar commentary, entitled "Insidious Misinformation," published by Bratislava PRAVDA on page 5. In his commentary, Zagar accuses Western information media of using "the dirtiest destructive means" to provoke "social explosions" in the socialist countries, with the aim of "liquidating socialism."

Also on 22 November, on page 4, PRAVDA carries a 400-word letter from Albrecht Kovacik from Kosice. Kovacik says, among other things: "If it really is true that the party's strength lies in its bonds with the masses, in thorough mutual information, then the CPCZ ought to carry out a broader inquiry into the causes of citizens' discontent and not wait until this discontent is misused by opposition elements. I believe that socialism will be stronger when one gains citizens' greater trust, when their demands are met. And the CPCZ ought to be the initiator and guarantor of this. The party should not wait until it gets into a situation like that [of the parties] in Poland, Hungary, and the GDR." Kovacik also refers to various "anomalies" in Czechoslovak society (such as that when workers fulfill the performance norm 130 percent, they do not get any bonus), adding that "the CPCZ, as the leading force in society, should not tolerate them."

Hrivnak Addresses Meeting of Slovak Students

LD2211234689 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 22 Nov 89

[Text] Party and state representatives of Slovakia met today in Bratislava representatives of Bratislava University youth.

Premier of the Slovak Government Pavel Hrivnak said at the meeting that the Slovak Government was fully responsible for securing normal, peaceful life in Slovakia and was taking specific measures to do so.

He expressed the wish that university students do not draw in his problems students of primary and secondary schools—students for whom the school administration and their parents are responsible. [sentence as heard]

Pavel Hrivnak stressed that the government was not avoiding a dialogue [words indistinct] to come to universities and discuss with students the life of university students in a way which would enable them to take creative part in tackling present problems.

A representative of the secretariat of the coordination committee of the Slovak universities spoke on behalf of university students. He briefed the participants on a committee's resolution consisting of several points. One of them was in harmony with the Federal Premier's decision on the course to be taken in clarifying the events of 17 November in Prague. Other demands went beyond the framework of university life and concerned our entire society and federation.

22 Nov Bratislava Student Demonstration Reported

AU2411170589 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 23 Nov 89 p 2

[PRAVDA correspondent's report: "From the Demonstration in Bratislava"]

[Text] Yesterday, at around 1600, groups and processions of citizens—in particular students carrying banners—began forming on SNP [Slovak National Uprising] Square in Bratislava. Gradually, an authorized gathering of tens of thousands of people formed, filling the area from Hurbanovo Square to the Polish Cultural and Information Center. The assembly carried banners and shouted slogans such as "Czechs and Slovaks together"; "Slovak students for a peaceful demonstration"; "The government's view is not dialogue with the nation"; "Unity in strength"; "Truth in truth"; and "Fathers and mothers, we beg you, come with us". The students clamorously welcomed workers' representatives from some Bratislava enterprises and factories.

Shortly after 1600, while singing the Czechoslovak National Anthem, they unfurled a large Czechoslovak state flag on one of the lamp posts. The actor Milan Knazko led the gathering on behalf of the students' coordinating committee and other organizers of the assembly (nature conservationists, writers, graphic artists, actors...). Later petitions and students' declarations were read out. In their declarations, the students pointed out that their initiative was not confined to problems affecting students because these problems cannot be resolved without solutions being found to the accumulated social and political problems. Applause greeted an affirmation, which resounded from several declarations, that students are in favor of life in a socialist society, but in its nondistorted form.

Petitions from artists, believers, the Slovak Revival Party City Committee, nature conservationists, initiative groups, as well as from workers' collectives (from Tesla Electroacoustics) and several others were also read out. Their common denominator was a demand that there be a thorough investigation into the circumstances of the intervention made by security forces against the peaceful students' demonstration in Prague last Friday [17 November], that the reform of socialism be introduced, that the accumulated social and political problems in our country be resolved, and that a sincere, open, and all-round dialogue be conducted. There was also a call for the resignation of the current party and state leadership.

For example, the statement issued by staff and students of Comenius University Faculty of Medicine in Bratislava was greeted with tumultuous applause. The other colleges affiliated in the striking Bratislava schools' coordinating committee also acknowledged this statement. It turns to the most senior party and state officials with the argument that students are not the promulgators of anarchy, confusion, and subversion. They are here because in the future they want to work purposefully and live creatively. They are prepared to live more modestly but as equal citizens of our state. They demand that the legal stipulations of our Constitution, where it is written that all power in the CSSR belongs to the working people, be fulfilled. They are part of the working people and are prepared to be a completely responsible part. They demand the creation of a political and social life that will guarantee participation in changes and will help to extricate society from it crisis.

At the end of the gathering, resolutions were adopted, including the demands that appear in the majority of appeals and petitions. The gathering took place without any kind of violence, no provocateurs got into the area, there was no sign of hysteria, and the students' appeals were positive so that peace and harmony were preserved and so that there was no activity leading to chaos, anarchy, and disorder. Traffic in the city center was disrupted for approximately 2-and-1/2 hours.

Report of Hrivnak Address Refuted

LD2311174189 Prague Television Service in Czech 1630 GMT 23 Nov 89

[Text] The Slovak Government Press Department, reacting to reports being spread among citizens to the effect that today's rally in the center of Bratislava would be addressed by Slovak Premier Pavel Hrivnak, is empowered to report that this information is untrue. Since yesterday, Comrade Hrivnak has been taking part in the deliberations of state and political organs in Prague. Presumably, what is involved is deliberately distorted information.

Speakers Address Rally

LD2411204989 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1900 GMT 24 Nov 89

[Text] Eugen Korda, producer of Czechoslovak television in Slovakia, announced at the rally in Bratislava that the television, in response to a demand of the enterprise committee of the Socialist Youth Union, will broadcast today and tomorrow a viewpoint of young television employees. They will ask the studio writer Lubomir Feldek, actor Knazko, and other representatives of civic initiatives.

Writer (Jan Strasser) and other speakers then jointly rejected the ideas and attitudes of the Slovak culture minister which he expressed on television yesterday.

Jural Janosovsky, chairman of the Slovak Socialist Youth Union Central Committee, told the meeting that too many well-paid people are hiding behind the party and socialism. He also advocated speeding up restructuring which has lost its momentum.

Rally Concludes

LD2411235289 Prague CTK in English 2255 GMT 24 Nov 89

[Text] Bratislava Nov 24 (CTK)—Today's demonstration on Slovak National Uprising Square in Bratislava was attended by tens of thousands of Bratislava citizens. Another meeting took place in the centre of Petrzalka quarter.

The rally in the centre of Bratislava, which was opened at 1500 GMT by actor Milan Knazko, was preceded by passionate debates in groups where students, workers and members of other social strata expressed their views.

Alena Michalova from a chemical works in Bratislava conveyed stands of economic, party and youth bodies of the enterprise. She said that they indentify with the stands of the students. She stated that the enterprise's employees do not agree with a general strike.

Member of the enterprise's coordinating committee of workers Stanislav Ondrejka supported the stand of the coordinating committee of university students. He said that the demands of students are also the demands of workers.

Milan Knazko explained the principle of a general strike according to the ideas of the forum "The Public Against Violence".

Chairman of the Slovak Central Committee of the Socialist Union of Youth Juraj Janosovsky said "I am a Communist and I want to be a Communist but I think that too many well-paid people are hiding behind the party and socialism. The right of young people is to express the wish for the rule of work and truth. To improve socialism it is necessary to speed up restructuring which has lost its pace and breath", he said.

A huge rally was addressed by representatives of the students' coordinating committee of university centres from Brno and Olomouc, who pointed to the idea of solidarity.

Statements of representatives of several civic initiatives and the Evangelical Church were heard at the meeting. Environmentalists of the Slovnaft Bratislava works expressed support for the movement "The Public Against Violence".

Milan Knazko presented more than 200 supporting statements of enterprises and organizations, including a telegram of greetings sent on behalf of 3.5 million American Slovaks.

In the end of the rally, students decided to participate in voluntary work on Saturday. Holding their raised hands, they sang the Czechoslovak state anthem and ended the peace demonstration.

Coordinating Strike Committee Holds Session

Opts To Continue Strike

LD2411182289 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1700 GMT 24 Nov 89

[Text] The Central Strike Coordination Committee has convened in Prague today. Representatives of students from all over Czechoslovakia convened at its Prague session: from Plzen, Kosice, Brno, Ostrava, Prague, and other university towns.

Present also were the members of the Central Committee of the Socialist Youth Union, of Civic Forum, and of the newly formed Academic Youth.

The main aim of the meeting was to get acquainted with the standpoints of individual higher learning institutions, to coordinate their further proceeding and to secure mutual help should it become necessary.

Martin (?Mistrik), member of the Strike Committee, acquainted those present with the Appeal to Fellow Citizens which was adopted yesterday by students on strike in Prague.

In the Appeal students demand the creation of an independent governmental commission which will investigate all circumstances of the events of 17 November.

They also demand the resignation of some leading party and state representatives; they demand that international obligations with regard to human rights are abided by; that so-called political prisoners are freed: and that the constitutional article on the leading role of the Czechoslovak Communist Party be abolished.

Students also demand that an all-people discussion on current conditions which would look for ways out from the current social, political, and econmic situation be opened and conducted without time limit.

After a long discussion the student representatives adopted the following standpoint:

The Central Strike Coordination Committee decided today that the students'; strike is to go on, and a decision about its further course after the Monday general strike is to be made on the basis of the concrete political situation. Students continually insist on their demands and support the Civic Forum.

Apologizes to Army

LD2511205989 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1800 GMT 25 Nov 89

[Text] Representatives of the students strike coordinating committee expressed their worries regarding the General Prosecutors' Office slowness in investigating the 17 November massacre.

At the same time they apologized to the army which the students had mistakenly blamed for using paratroopers units. They explained that this mistake was caused—probably purposely—by the similarity of the uniforms of the paratroopers and members of the special commando.

Meets With Officials

LD2511222689 Prague CTK in English 2150 GMT 25 Nov 89

[Text] Prague Nov 25 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak Government decided at today's extraordinary session presided over by its Premier Ladislav Adamec to immediately enter into talks with striking students.

On the basis of its decision, Deputy Premier Karel Julis, Foreign Minister Jaromir Johanes and Minister Marian Calfa established their first working contact with representatives of the striking students.

Urges Guarantees

LD2611183189 Prague CTK in English 1754 GMT 26 Nov 89

[Text] Prague Nov 26 (CTK)—"The strike goes on as no guarantees have been given that the students' demands will be fulfilled," representatives of university students from all over Czechoslovakia stated at today's session of the National Coordinating Strike Committee here.

The further course of action will be decided by the National Coordinating Committee on the basis of concrete results of next Tuesday's meeting with Premier Ladislav Adamec, the students said.

The session was also attended by representatives of the Civil Forum, the Socialist Youth Union Central Committee, Socialist Youth Union City University Students' Council and of secondary schools. The main aim was to learn about the situation at individual universities and to coordinate their further course of action.

Varying Reactions to 26 Nov Strike Call

LD2511001189 Prague CTK in English 2325 GMT 24 Nov 89

[Text] Prague Nov 24 (CTK)—The Slovak Government stressed at its meeting today, in keeping with the standpoint of the Slovak National Front Central Committee Presidium and the seriousness of the situation, its resolve to continue implementing the program of restructuring and democratization in our society.

The Slovak Government called on workers in plants, cooperative farms and other workplaces to prevent any disturbance in the economy and its disruption that would affect every Czechoslovak citizen.

Workers of the Czechoslovak largest metallurgical and engineering enterprise Klement Gottwald Vitkovice Ironworks engineering enterprise demanded at today's meeting that political and social problems be solved with maximum prudence and responsibility while preserving all conditions for undisturbed work. Their refusal therefore calls for Sunday's general strike.

Participants in today's meeting of the Prague-based CKD Tatra enterprise discussed a statement condemning the brutal action of the security forces against students on November 17. Their resolution expressed disapproval of the statement by the Czechoslovak and Czech Governments and suggested an open dialogue on all questions. Participants in the meeting agreed on joining the general strike on November 27. A sixty-member strike committee, headed by Communist worker Milan Mazanek, was established. Milan Mazanek told CTK that they did not want to cause the least economic damage to the state and therefore they would make up for the lost working hours.

Education Ministry Supports 27 Nov Strike

LD2511132989 Prague CTK in English 1248 GMT 25 Nov 89

[Text] Prague Nov 25 (CTK)—The Czech Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports supports Monday's general strike in harmony with the stand of students in case the causes for its calling persist, Deputy Minister of education, youth and sports Milan Sulista told representatives of the Prague Students Strike committee here today.

At a meeting with students at Prague's Academy of Arts, which is at the seat of the Prague Students Strike Committee, he said that the ministry grants rectors of Prague universities powers to decide about the regime of the educational work at the univesities till the end of the current term according to the needs and demands of the striking students. This concerns particularly problems linked to the ending of the winter term or prolongation of the period of examinations.

Budapest Radio on Rallies, TV Coverage

LD2511213689 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 25 Nov 89

[Excerpts] Six hundred thousand people are demonstrating in Prague, more than 100,000 in Bratislava, and in the meantime, the Prague first secretary and the Czechoslovak trade union leader have resigned. Evelyn Forro reports from the Czechoslovak capital:

[Begin recording] [passage omitted] Television programming has changed radically. Today, the people of Prague received the Civic Forum's rally live. In Bratislava, the 120,000-strong rally held on the square of the national uprising was also relayed. At this rally, a representative of the Hungarian Democratic Forum greeted the Slovak people, at which the crowd called out in unison "Hungaria" [passage omitted]

2-hour Subway Strike Planned for 27 Nov

LD2511212589 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2030 GMT 25 Nov 89

[Text] Following today's rally on the Letna Plain, groups of citizens returned to our center of Prague. On Wenceslas Square they continued in debates, in particular about the need for free elections and about the protest strike on 27 November, which in no way should endanger economic results of enterprises and organizations, but should express support to the current demands of students and other citizens who have joined them.

Employees of the Prague subway have explained their course of action during this protest strike. They have asked a CTK reporter to inform the public that the subway will be closed between 1200 and 1400 on Monday, 27 November. The number of trains will be augmented before the strike begins and the same applies to the number of trains that will operate after 1400.

Further Reportage on Letna Rally in Prague

CPCZ's Mohorita Addresses Rally

LD2511200589 Prague CTK in English 1745 GMT 25 Nov 89

[Text] Prague Nov 25 (CTK)—Hundreds of thousands of the working people, youth and students met in the Letna Plain near Hradcany Castle at a rally called by the Civic Forum today.

They expressed support for the demands made at the beginning of the week by students and artists.

The rally was addressed by representatives of various social and age groups who expressed a broad spectrum of views on the present internal political situation and the possibilities of its solution.

Vasil Mohorita, member of the Communist Party Secretariat and chairman of the Socialist Union of Youth told the rally that Miroslav Stepan had offered his resignation as Communist Party chief secretary in Prague at a session of the party city committee this morning. Vasil Mohorita, authorized to speak by party General Secretary Karel Urbanek, said that representatives of the National Front would most probably talk with representatives of the Civic Forum.

Playwright Vaclav Havel read this morning's statement of the Civic Forum which commented on the composition of the presidium and secretariat of the Communist Party Central Committee. Although some of the most compromised persons, whose unconditional resignations we demanded, have been removed, we are deeply alarmed by the new personal set-up of our highest party bodies. Some of those, whose resignations we demand, remain in these bodies and people who are newly elected to them arouse our doubt that they may be able to understand the crisis in our country and to solve it quickly and consistently, Havel said.

We call on all citizens, he said, to demonstrate in the most distinct way possible their desire for democracy by a general strike declared for November 27 for two hours from midday. He also called on them to prepare for a permanent strike alert while students and artists would decide themselves whether to continue their strike.

The general strike should become a really national referendum on the leading role of one party.

We have already been cheated by personnel alterations so many times. Nothing like that must repeat itself, Havel said. Let us be watchful, let us increase our pressure on the ruling circles. This is the only possible way to achieve that the door now ajar is opened wide, Havel said.

Havel Appeal on Strike

LD2611143889 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1310 GMT 26 Nov 89

[Speech by playwright Vaclav Havel at the Letna rally in Prague—live]

[Text] Dear friends, fellow citizens, a week ago a broad popular movement was formed in Prague—the Civic Forum. For 7 days Prague, as well as the entire Republic, has been living through a great drama. After 40 years of a totalitarian government the up-to-now manipulated citizens began to think and act freely. [people shouting: "Long Live Havel"]

On behalf of the Civic Forum I can announce to you that what we have all been calling for has happened—a dialogue between the power and the public has begun! This morning Prime Minister Adamec met a delegation from the Civic Forum. We will meet again on Tuesday. I publicly thank the premier for his good will. He will speak as a guest of the Civic Forum in a moment. [people shouting: "Adamec"]

Tomorrow we are going to show our desire for democracy, freedom and peace by a general protest strike. We appeal to you that this strike does not damage continuous running production and human health and lives. We do not want to ruin our economy—we want it, on the contrary, to work better. We are all asking ourselves a question about what will follow the strike.

The Civic Forum suggests that the strike committees stay in a permanent state of strike readiness, and at the same time undergo the change into civic forums which will be [word indistinct] independent representatives of social will in our entire Republic.

At this moment we must be united in order to be able, soon, to diversify our activities, to joint various trade unions, political, student and hobby organizations.

The Civic Forum wishes to become a bridge from totalitarianism to real democracy and pluralism, which will finally be secured by free elections. [people shouting: "free elections"]

The Civic Forum is prepared immediately to begin talks on all phases of a peaceful path using such a bridge. We know what we want: Truth, humanity, freedom! [people shouting: "freedom"]

From this moment all of us participants in the management of this country, and therefore all of us bear the responsibility for its destiny! [people shouting: "Long Live Havel"]

Uhl, Ruml Address Rally

LD2611174689 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1420 GMT 26 Nov 89

[Remarks by Petr Uhl and Jiri Ruml, editor in chief of LIDOVE NOVINY, at Letna rally in Prague on 26 November following introduction by playwright Vaclav Havel—live]

[Text] [Havel] When we called for the freedom of our imprisoned friends, if you remember I told you, they would not doubt be here with us. They are here, I will introduce them to you: Jiri Ruml, editor in chief of LIDOVE NOVINY, his assistant Rudolf Zeman, an editor, and Petr Uhl, who were released yesterday with your contribution! [crowd chants throughout introductions]

[Uhl] Citizens! I am extremely pleased to address you in this way. We have been waiting for 40 years for the rehabilitation of citizenship! [crowd chants] I returned last night from Litomerice from custody after a decision of the president of the Republic that halted the criminal proceedings against me. [crowd chants] I will, however, demand the proceedings continue so the court will find me innocent. By the dissemination of a false report about the death of student Martin Smid I have not committed a criminal offense because we, in an East European information agency, considered this report to be truthful and confirmed. We received it in very peculiar circumstances, which have not yet been explained. We hope this will soon be done. I believe it necessary to apologize to the public for the dissemination of this false report! [crowd chants: This does not matter!] On behalf of the yet released political prisoners, I thank you all for the manifestations of solidarity that resulted in our freedom. Let us all consider it to be our duty now to use our liberty to make everything possible for all prisoners of conscience and all those injustly imprisoned to be released as soon as possible. [crowd chants: Release them!]

Allow me to say a few more words; in new free conditions, everyone is able not only to speak his mind; in a new democratic system, everyone will be able not only to speak but also to influence the development of our society. Let us develop independent and also traditional groups. Let us found new ones, Because only many political forces, including political parties can be the basis for our democracy! Let us fill with deeds today's slogan. End to one-party rule! [crowd chants]

[Ruml] Friends, you will, no doubt excuse me that I look so astonished; I had my dinner last night, still in Ruzyne [crowd chants: Shame!] This was not naturally, in the airport transit lounge but in the prison! [crowd chants] I was not too badly off, I was on a diet, so I ate cake and coffee [chowd chants: Let Stepan eat that!] Friends, I thank you that I can now be here with you! I prefer writing to speaking but allow me to say aloud that which I have been telling myself in my mind only until one this morning: Long live a citizen! Long live a free citizen! Long live the forum of free citizens! [crowd chants: Long live Forum!]

[Havel] Jiri Ruml says that he was able to eat in prison. Now he will not eat, he wil be so busy and he will think about the prison food for which he had time.

CTK Reviews Events at Rally

*LD2611180989 Prague CTK in English
1718 GMT 26 Nov 89*

[Text] Prague Nov 26 (CTK)—Hundreds of thousands of workers, young people and students from Prague and other regions in the country gathered today again at Letna to voice their support for the demands submitted at the beginning of this week by students and artists, joined gradually by other citizens.

The assembly organised by the Civil Forum is being addressed by its representatives, artists, students and workers, and this time also by Czechoslovak Premier Ladislav Adamec.

Over half a million Czechoslovak citizens who gathered at the Letna Plain in Prague today were greeted by writer Vaclav Havel, a representative of the Civil Forum.

He told the rally, broadcast live on television, that "What we all called for has happened—a dialogue between power and the citizens began". He thanked Premier Ladislav Adamec for goodwill for talks with the Civil Forum.

He said the Civil Forum wants to be a bridge between totalitarianism and plurality which will be later ensured by free elections. The Civil Forum is ready to immediately discuss all stages of a peaceful passage along this bridge, he underlined.

The participants were then addressed by Premier Ladislav Adamec.

Alexander Dubcek, the Communist Party leader in 1968-69, described the past 21 years as a period not corresponding to the interests of the people. He pointed out that the attempt of the Czechoslovak Communist Party in 1968 to link democracy with socialist development was broken off by the entry into Czechoslovakia by troops of five countries. The apologies of Polish and Hungarian leading bodies for the intervention should be followed by the remaining countries involved in it, he said. He stressed that all those who have been and continued to be a hindrance to the further regeneration process should leave the Communist Party Central Committee, the government and the Federal Assembly.

Representatives of the Coordinating Students Strike Committee announced that the Federal General Prosecutor's Office had found that security forces had used excessive and harsh means on November 17, and added that 12 evident cases of breaches of law have been passed to the military prosecution for investigation. He demanded that the compromised functionaries should withdraw from public life and the "lesson drawn from the crisis development in the party and society after the 13th Congress of the Czechoslovak Communist Party" should be immediately revoked. We have not yet won, the fight continues, they stressed.

G. Terenyi, a member of Independent Hungarian Trade Unions, expressed the solidarity of Hungarian and Polish trade unions and political parties with the demands of the Civil Forum.

Charter 77 spokesman Tomas Hradilek demanded that Czechoslovak information media should immediately publish the Charter 77 statement of January 1, 1977 because, he said, the Czechoslovak public did not have a chance so far to read this program document.

With a minute's silence the participants paid tribute to the memory of victims of the past few decades. Speaking of their destinies, representatives of the Committee in Defence of the Unjustly Persecuted Vaclav Benda recalled that not all political prisoners have been released as yet and legal proceedings are conducted against a number of other persons unjustly. This state compels the committee to continue its work and called for public support for it.

Charter activist Petr Uhl and Journalist Jiri Ruml spoke on behalf of persons against whom legal proceedings were suspended upon a decision of the president and who were released from prison last night.

Karel Najemnik, a miner from the North Bohemian region, pointed out the fact that miners disagree wtih the behaviour of the management of their pit, preventing miners from contacts with students and actors and discriminating against miners supporting the Civil Forum, inter alia by transferring them to other pits and cutting their wages. He called on the miners and workers to join the current youth movement and thus strengthen the unity of the nation.

The participants in the meeting were told that actor Pavel Landovsky, writer Jiri Prusa and singer Karel Kryl had been waiting at a border crossing since yesterday and that representatives of the Civil Forum had asked Prime

Minister Adamec during today's talks that they be permitted to arrive in Czechoslovakia. According to the spokesman, the prime minister promised that they would.

Lieutenant Ludvik Pinc of the public security's flying squad, which was involved in the police action in Prague on November 17, read a statement of, he said, upright members of this unit. It said that members of the security force had expressed their discontent with similar actions on earlier occasions. They were bound by service deputies and refusal to obey orders was strictly punished. Their statement said that commanders of neither lower nor medium level were authorized to take such action. These orders were an affair of high state and party officials. The statement expressed support for democratization which has now started in Czechoslovakia.

We deeply regret that the events and irresponsible action of our leaders set us against the people of our own country, they said.

Support for the Civil Forum was expressed by Jozef Zverina on behalf of political prisoners of the 1950's and, on behalf of sportsmen, by Ladislav Vizek.

Member of the strike committee at the Poldi Kladno Steel Works Martin Peroutka announced that most of the workers supported the demands of the Civil Forum and backed the students and artists.

Spokesman Vaclav Maly announced that economist Ota Sik was forming in exile a team which wanted to ask economics Nobel Prize winners for cooperation to help the Civil Forum prepare its program.

Report on 27 Nov Wenceslas Square Rally

LD2711161289 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1515 GMT 27 Nov 89

[Excerpt] A short while ago at 1600 [1500 GMT], a rally of youth and working people of our capital began on Wenceslas Square in Prague. We have our reporters there. Roman Zamboch and Lubos Lidicky are ready with their microphones:

[Zamboch] Yes, this is Wenceslas Square, and we wish you a nice early evening. After two large rallies on the Letna Plain called by those who remember a lot—the biggest rallies in the history of the capital, tens of thousands, possibly hundreds of thousands, citizens—I indeed dare not estimate because there are many of them gathering in the center of Prague. This is the second time today, because citizens were here at midday during the general strike.

From the balcony of the Melantrich publishing house building, the residence of SVOBODNE SLOVE, at 1555, Jiri Kanturek—who chairs today's rally—said that the Civic Forum considers today's general strike successful. Then stormy applause by those present followed and shouting of slogans—In unity is strength; and by this the rally was opened.

Then Jan Skoda, central secretary of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party, spoke. He said that today's rallies differ from rallies which were held last week because people in the whole republic demonstratively confirmed that reforms are necessary. A number of demands have already been fulfilled, according to him, and a dialogue between the government and the opposition has started. Concerning the other demands that have to be supported he said that they are: Above all to respect civic rights, to speedily adopt some laws, to emphasize the political character of National Front activity, to enable the legal operation of other new organizations, and also to set up governments of national accord and to hold free elections as soon as possible. He promised that deputies of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party will consistently push through these demands in both the Federal Assembly and the Czech National Council.

Then the floor was given to communist (?Evzen Prusa) from the Motorlet enterprise in Prague. People on Wenceslas Squre first of all whistled, but then, when Jiri Kanturek reminded them that communists too have the right to express their views, Evzen Prusa was welcomed with applause. He said that rank-and-file members of the party are not happy with past development, and they have expressed their view at an aktiv in the palace of culture.

Now Lubos Lidicky is ready with guests, so I shall hand him the microphone. [passage omitted]

Komarek Supported as New Premier

LD2711180189 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1631 GMT 27 Nov 89

[Excerpts] [Announcer] We are returning to Wenceslas Square, where a rally of students and working people is taking place and where we have our Studio 7 correspondent. Rman Zamboch and Lubos Lidicky will report. Good evening. [passage omitted]

[Lidicky] I have listened to all the speeches, but I would like to mention two which enjoyed the greatest success and the greatest response here in Wenceslas Square.

First the speech of Dr Valtr Komarek, director of the Forecasting Institute of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences. He said that the 10 days were not a time of poetry, but of deeds. He stresed in this connection the courage of students and then briefly outlined the current tasks. I will try to review it briefly, if you will allow me. He said that in Czechoslovakia a new political situation has arisen irreversibly; we cannot move toward compromises or lock ourselves in history. We must not back away, not a single millimeter from the new historic event in our country. His statement was received with a stormy chanting: this is it' He also said that the old political structures must be changed, and new ones fit for the new historic situation must be created. It is necessary to quickly prepare and implement new political deeds and reform; among other things he listed the right to assemble freely, freedom of expression, freedom of the press, and other civic freedoms. Our hearts, starved for freedom, cannot be made safe by cheap rhetoric about restructuring, Dr Komarek said.

The courage of the young ones has to be reflected in practical policy. It is necesary to democratize the government, the government of a great coalition and high abilities. He also said that nations have the governments they deserve. This nation deserves such a good government. Then he said that a new upsurge of young people is needed, and that new people should be entrusted with more deeds. The Wenceslas Square crowd chanted: Long live Komarek!

Then on the Melantrich, the Svobodne Slovo building's balcony, appeared a delegation of those who were the first to support students in their struggle. These were actors from the Na Vinohradech Theater: Jirina Jiraskova, Jana Stepankova, Otta Sklenicka, and Viktor Preis. Jirina Jiraskova also read a letter, which the delegation handed to the president of the republic. Its main contents are as follows: The delegation proposes Dr Valtr Komarek to be appointed to the post of federal premier. She said that the theater was full when the letter was approved—there are 773 seats, and there were 757 people plus the theater ensemble present. She also said that one voted against and seven abstained. The Wenceslas Square chanted: Long live actors!

Then a student (Antonia Michnikova)—I hope I heard her name correctly—spoke. She read a letter from students. She was also a member of a delegation which was received by the president of the republic. Briefly, from the letter: Students demand the resignation of the government of Premier Ladislav Adamec, and propose Dr Valtr Komarek to be appointed the new premier, who would then appoint a new government and adopt its new program. According to (Michnikova) the new government program is ready.

[Zamboch] I do not know if you can guess from what you can hear, from the atmosphere around us, that the rally has ended for today, some 10 minutes ago. It ended with the national anthem, as has become the custom. [passage omitted]

Murin Reads Rally Statement in Bratislava

LD2711203689 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 27 Nov 89

[Text] Slovak Deputy Premier Stefan Murin was unable to speak to the demonstrators on Slovak National Uprising Square in Bratislava today. He asked us to give him airtime to speak on Czechoslovak Radio.

[Begin Murin recording] Dear fellow citizens and friends: Yesterday, on behalf of the government of the Slovak Socialist Republic, I received the Committee of the Public Against Violence headed by Mr (Gudaj) and Mr Kniazko. In addition to the political questions which they tabled, they asked me to attend the demonstration today on Slovak National Uprising Square in order to speak there on behalf of our state and party bodies. I thought about this, in view of the extent of the psychosis, but after being assured the assurance that I would be allowed to speak, I decided to attend, and to this demonstration I wanted to say the following, if you will allow me to read it out to you.

I have asked to speak in order to greet you sincerely on behalf of the state and party leadership in Slovakia, and at the same time to assure you that we will do everything to ensure that the people of our country live freely and happily, that every citizen, regardless of his views and political and religious affiliation, can live freely and safely, and fully develop his creative powers and abilities.

Our society has found itself at a crossroads of destiny, and the guarantee of personal freedoms must be paramount now in the future in our joint work and the joint dialogue which only yesterday I believed in. We want the greatest scope for activity and respect to go to the most capable. We want competent, cultured, and highly moral people to fully assert themselves in all spheres of social life. Without this, there cannot be either true democracy or revival.

We offer broad scope for developing a dialogue of equals, which we have already put in hand and intend to pursue. We are also ready to promptly bring about all the necessary conditions for this—a change of the Constitution and a change in the constitutional status of the party. By cooperating with all the forces of society, we want to promptly ensure free democratic elections which will create scope for the involvement of the most competent people in running the state and in running our social affairs. It is in this spirit that I call on all of you to cooperate in actively shaping our future, in developing the humanitarian ideals of socialism, and in making the new political system function in such a way as to guarantee the full freedom of man, order in society, economic and cultural development, and a dignified place for our state and our peoples around the table of the world's nations.

That is what I wanted to tell the demonstration on Slovak National Uprising Square in Bratislava. Unfortunately, you have to look at the film—some of you may have seen it—and judge for yourselves. Think about it: is that dialogue? Is that interest in a genuinely dignified dialogue? Is that the way to seek the kind of dignified future that we need for our people, for our citizens and for our society? Can you eradicate extremism by extremism? What is operating there is not the law of working down to the lowest common denominator, but that of working up to the highest common factor. Let us all think about this and seek a suitable response. [end recording]

University Students Discuss, Outline Demands

*LD2711203989 Prague CTK in English
1911 GMT 27 Nov 89*

[Text] Prague Nov 27 (CTK)—Representatives of Czechoslovak universities met here this morning before the token strike to discuss the fulfilment of demands which the students submitted at the beginning of this week.

On the basis of the current internal political situation the participants in the meeting adopted an appeal to fellow-citizens, stressing that the students accepted with satisfaction the resignation of the most discredited party functionaries and the release of political prisoners. However, with regard to the fact that these changes concern only the most blatant examples, the students continue to demand the creation of a Federal Assembly commission to investigate the events of November 17, 1983, so that all the discredited functionaries withdraw completely from public life and that the two houses of the Federal Assembly discuss as soon as possible the aboliton of the Article No.4 of the Constitution on the leading role of the Communist Party. Another demand of the students is the release of all political prisoners, working out of bills on the freedom of assembly, association, right to petition, press law, university and election law and their submitting to the public for duscussion.

Thousands Protest in Several Cities

Halle Rally

LD2711195789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1924 GMT 27 Nov 89

[Text] Halle (ADN)—Tens of thousands took part in the weekly Monday demonstration in Halle. At a following rally, to which New Forum had invited all the city's reform groups, demands were made for free elections, a trade union federation independent of parties and state, and the withdrawal of the SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] from enterprises.

The cooperation of all democratic parties and initiative groups, according to New Forum spokesman Michael Klapperstueck and Johannes Hamann, requires that the past be surmounted. The dialogue and the change to a genuine democracy are attainable only with people of integrity, people who are not weighed down by abuse of office or privileges.

Representatives of citizens' initiative groups reported on their cooperation in an independent citizens commission for the investigation of the deployment of force against peaceful demonstrators on 7 and 9 October in Halle.

200,000 in Leipzig

LD2711183489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1813 GMT 27 Nov 89

[Text] Leipzig (ADN)—Around 200,000 Leipzig citizens and visitors gathered once again this evening for a rally in Karl-Marx-Platz and the traditional demonstration following it. Earlier, there were peace prayers in seven churches.

At the meeting outside the opera house, members of parties, mass organizations and initiative groups, and other citizens of Leipzig expressed their determination to stay in the country. The mayor of Hanover, Dr Herbert Schmalstieg, in Leipzig for political talks, spoke to the demonstrators over loudspeakers. He congratulated the citizens of Leipzig on the fact that the first peaceful revolution on German soil had started from their city.

Human Chain in Leipzig

LD2711195889 Hamburg DPA in German 1921 GMT 27 Nov 89

[Text] Leipzig (DPA)—As in previous weeks, members of New Forum, Democratic Departure, and other groups formed human chains in front of the Leipzig State Security building as, at the end of the demonstration, tens of thousands of people again assembled in front of the building. Demonstrators shouted "lazy bunch." Many laid down shovels with the inscriptions: "Stasi, there is much to do;" and "This weapon from the hands of a worker for the Stasi and the police." Many candles were lit.

Rally in Neubrandenburg

LD2711193989 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1900 GMT 27 Nov 89

[Text] Neubrandenburg (ADN)—Several hundred people marched to the Stargard Gate today after the peace prayer in Johannis church Neubrandenburg. At a short rally, representatives of the New Forum called upon the GDR Government to maintain a critical distance from the regime in Romania.

A speaker of the SDP [Social Democratic Party of the GDR] demanded a realistic and truthful portrayal of the events of 1968 in Prague. There was also a demand for the founding of an association for those persecuted by Stalinism.

New Forum in Schwerin

LD2711203789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1959 GMT 27 Nov 89

[Text] Schwerin (ADN)—A procession of demonstrators ended at Schwerin's Demmlerplatz this evening with loud cries such as "put the Stasi [security officials] to work in the national economy," and a concert of whistles. The area office for national security is situated here. In addition, candles were placed at the entrance and on the steps. Earlier, according to eyewitness estimates, almost 10,000 demonstrators had taken part in a New Forum rally in the Alter Garten. Several New Forum, LDPD [Liberal Democratic Party of Germany] and SDP [Social Democratic Party] spokespeople criticized the "present state of emergency in the health system," the exclusion from society of the physically and mentally handicapped, the still inadequate reduction in administration, and the lack of information on which legislation is to be changed in the future. There were repeated demands for free elections and for Socialist Unity Party of Germany officials to be called to account for their mistakes.

There was violent displeasure at the import of Japanese video recorders, as announced a few days ago in the press, "which will be disgracefully expensive here." The announcement that the New Forum will open an information office in Schwerin on 4 December was met with applause.

Demonstrations Roundup

LD2711223689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2127 GMT 27 Nov 89

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—Hundreds of thousands of people again articulated their will today with demonstrations and rallies for democratic renewal and the continuation of the process of reform.

In Leipzig, where around 200,000 residents and guests of the trade-fair city were on the streets again, speakers from parties, mass organizations, and initiative groups announced their intention at a rally on Karl-Marx-Platz to stay in the country. At the same time they called for the swift and unsparing investigation of cases of corruption. There, as in other cities, a new constitution as well as new laws on elections and the media were named as topics for the "roundtable" talks.

Acting Mayor Guenter Haedrich was applauded for his suggestion that the chief conductor of the Gewandhaus Orchestra, professor Kurt Masur, should be made an honorary citizen of Leipzig. "If we all want to, Leipzig can be saved," the city's leader said. They now need confident concepts for the future.

There was even more applause for the speech by the mayor of Hanover, Dr Herbert Schmalstieg, who is in Leipzig for political talks. He congratulated the Leipzigers on the fact that the first peaceful revolution on German soil emanated from their city. Here they had helped to write a piece of world history. In the same breath he appealed to the responsibility of the two German states for peace, security, and disarmament in Europe. "The money spent in your country and in ours can be used to solve many of Europe's problems."

The call for "reunification" was expressed on banners and in chants. This was rejected by speakers from various groups. They pointed out the possible consequences of "annexation to the FRG" and the fears of European neighbors. To whistles from the crowd, a representative of the "Boehlener Platform" put forward the view that a united Germany is only thinkable in a united European home. "One nation—two states, that is the reality," a member of the SDP [Social Democratic Party] said on this subject.

During the rally, which lasted for over an hour and which for the first time was organized by New Forum, speakers demanded a critical assessment of the situation in Romania, an apology to the CSSR for the events of 1968, and the SED general secretary clearly distancing himself from remarks on the events in Beijing.

After the rally the march set off through the center of Leipzig in heavy rain. Again, citizens contributed to the safety of public buildings. The march broke up peacefully after 2000. [passage omitted]

Tens of thousands of Dresden citizens demonstrated again in the city center for a completely new constitution and early elections in the GDR. On banners and placards and in chants, they called for the SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] to renounce its claim to leadership and for the official recognition of new democratic groups, as well as for new electoral legislation.

At the rally afterward at Fucikplatz, speakers from differing social groups could be heard. There were repeated demands for the immediate punishment of all those reponsible for the political crisis and for the resignation of "turncoat politicians." There was also support for the proposal to set up a "Round Table," through which democratic forces could be included in the process of renewal. SED and LDPD [Liberal Democratic Party of Germany] speakers had difficulty in making themselves heard by the majority of the rally participants. [passage omitted]

In Magdeburg, a demonstration which had been called by new political groups was called off by the organizers at short notice. After prayers in the cathedral for social renewal in the GDR, they had intended to march to the editorial office of the SED area [bezirk] organ VOLKSSTIMME, to advocate freedom of the press and the media. During the function in the cathedral, a New Forum spokesman reported that contact had been established with leading editors of the paper. The VOLKSSTIMME had proposed a round of talks with reprsentatives of the groups and had welcomed the demand of the new groupings for their own paper.

Meyer Denies Neo-Nazi Groups Being Formed

LD2811145589 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1350 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—GDR Government spokesman Wolfgang Meyer denied most emphatically to ADN today the claims of the former SS member and chairman of the FRG neo-Nazi "Republikaner," Franz Schoenhuber, that his party has already formed several local associations in the GDR.

In the GDR, antifascism is the basis of state policy, the government spokesman explained. Neo-Nazi forces will be given no opportunity to form groups.

With reference to the Office for National Security, he stated that such organizational structures of the "Republikander" do not exist in the GDR. The office will oppose all neo-Nazi endeavors. The Internal Affairs Ministry and the GDR general prosecuting attorney also confirmed these statements. Evidence from the population on such tendencies will be carefully examined.

Dresden Mayor Considers Opposing Krenz

LD2711133989 Hamburg DPA in German 1304 GMT 27 Nov 89

[Text] Hamburg (DPA)—Dresden Chief Mayor Wolfgang Berhofer has not ruled out his candidacy against Egon Krenz for the office of Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] general secretary at the SED special congress in mid-December, according to the Hamburg magazine STERN. In an interview in the magazine's latest edition, Berghofer said: "I have never before shirked my responsibility when asked by the party to do my duty. However, I shall have to weigh up very carefully the advangates and disadvantages, and not just exercise party discipline," the SED politician said. Asked whether he would set conditions, Berghofer replied: "That is so." However, he wants—"should it ever come to it"—to inform his comrades first of these conditions.

Berghofer, a close political comrade of reform-oriented Prime Minister Hans Modrow, at the same time expressed his skepticism about the SED's chances in free elections. "If there were elections now, we would achieve 20 percent at the most," he said. However, "it does not only depend on the SED but its representatives." Modrow can "certainly expect many votes, since he is an honest individual."

An edited version of the interview was pre-released to DPA.

No To Challenge

LD2711193489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1847 GMT 27 Nov 89

[Text] Dresden (ADN)—Speaking about his interview with the Hamburg magazine STERN, Dresden's Mayor Wolfgang Berghofer told ADN today that in the current complicated situation in the country, questions of personnel are, for him, of secondary importance. The extraordinary SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] Party Congress would elect a general secretary democratically. He has no intention of running for this office.

In an interview with STERN, which was released in advance, it was stated that Berghofer did not exclude his candidacy.

Dresden Mayor Discusses National Economy

LD2811103989 Hamburg DPA in German 0956 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Text] Hamburg (DPA)—If there is fundamental economic reform in the GDR, then, in the view of Dresden Mayor Wolfgang Berghofer, a "drastic reduction of the planned economy" is necessary. Berghofer, who was speaking in an interview with BILD-ZEITUNG, also spoke in favor of full freedom of action for the heads of the big combines and the dissolution of all noneconomic combines—primarily in the food and consumer-goods industry—and their conversion "into independent, medium-sized enterprises."

The present private economy in the service sector, from gastronomy to repairs, has to be expanded. Also in price and subsidy policy "radical changes" are needed. "We must stop rewarding the indolent as much as the industrious," Berghofer said, who is one of the leading reform politicians within the Socialist Unity Party of Germany.

According to Berghofer, there is intensive discussion in progress in the GDR about the abolition of the 14 bezirke and reintroducing the former provinces such as Saxony, Mecklenburg, and Thuringia. This would strengthen regional identity, which he personally favors, the mayor said.

The text of the interview was made available to DPA in advance.

Dresden Starts Alternative Military Service

LD2711184689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1536 GMT 27 Nov 89

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—Beginning 20 November, 25 young men have been doing an alternative military service in a pilot project run by the Dresden Area Friedrichstadt Hospital, the GDR's Evangelical News Service (ENA) reports.

Among them are so-called total conscientious objectors and construction soldiers who had returned their draft papers. As reported by ENA, they want to point out in this way the urgent need for the introduction of a legally arranged alternative military service.

The arrangement, initiated by the Saxony youth pastor Harald Bretschneider, is taking place with the consent of the military district command and the Dresden City Council. [passage omitted]

National Democratic Party Details Demands

AU2611203189 East Berlin NATIONAL-ZEITUNG in German 21 Nov 89 p 1

["What the NDPD Wants"—flier to be disseminated via the party units]

[Text] The National Democratic Party of Germany [NDPD] wants a democratic, deeply humane socialism!

Socialism for national and democratic reasons and responsibility;

Socialism with its deeply humanistic ideals, its roots in German intellectual history;

Socialism as a right and freedom;

Equal opportunities, secure existence, and certain future for every citizens;

Socialism as a meritocracy in work and distribution.

The NDPD wants a pluralism of political parties in the GDR!

Equal rights for our party, for all democrats, who are in favor of the renewal of socialism;

An end to the primacy of one party;

Equal participation in the state and economic apparatus, in the education and university sector, in the fields of culture and the arts, as well as in the mass organizations.

The NDPD wants the rule of law and legal security!

Sole exercise of power by freely elected representatives of the people;

Full sovereignty of the people's representative bodies toward the government and the councils;

Constitutional and administrative jurisdiction;

Administrative reform, administrative structure in line with provinces and free cities;

Referendum on a new Constitution;

Laws, which guarantee order and human dignity.

The NDPD wants an economic reform!

The priority: Stabilization of material production, the domestic market, and the state finances;

Safeguarding social ownership in all fields;

Market orientation as a principle, not as a substitute of socialist economic management;

Democratization of planning, independent responsibility of the enterprises;

Rebuilding of consumer goods production, room for private initiative;

Self-administration of cooperatives in agriculture and the crafts;

Justice concerning income and taxes for the crafts and small businesses;

Consistent inclusion of environmental protection and national culture into the entire economic policy.

The NDPD wants leeway for science!

The basic precondition: Raising the role of the intelligentsia;

Performance principle;

Technical competence must be decisive for filling posts;

Unhindered access to international scientific knowledge;

Safeguarding of the material-technical preconditions for research;

Equal opportunities for young people from public education to colleges and universities, early promotion of talents.

The NDPD wants the national and democratic renewal of culture and the arts!

Support for a German culture that is open toward the international humanistic heritage;

Intellectual life that is open to all projects and utopias;

No patronage in the artistic creative process;

Independent responsibility of publishing houses, theaters, museums, and other artistic facilities;

No sell-out of cultural values.

The NDPD wants a foreign and foreign trade policy, which is oriented toward the all-European home!

Adjustment to the EC market;

Integration of our economy into international economic and scientific-technological developments in East and West and their utilization;

Foreign capital investments and joint ventures;

Shaping of the relations between the GDR and the FRG without political preconditions, revitalization of the idea of a confederation;

No thinking in terms of prestige in foreign policy, reduction of inefficient representations abroad.

In the spirit of these intentions, the NDPD is closing its ranks more strongly and opens up to every citizen for honest, constructive talks.

Those who want to go with us find their place in our ranks. Our party is open to everyone and to everything that serves the interests of the people.

With the NDPD forward for a renewed socialism in the GDR!

'Democracy Now' Says Proposed Roundtable

LD2711164389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2059 GMT 26 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The spokesman for the citizen's movement "Democracy Now," Konrad Weiss, passed the following statement to ADN on Sunday: "On Wednesday, 22 November 1989, ADN published a report on the Roundtable. The report says that the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee Politburo had proposed "that the political parties united in the coalition govenrment should come together for roundtable talks with the other political forces in the country."

The ADN reports give the impression that the proposal on the Roundtable came from the SED and was an initiative of this party. This is wrong.

What is correct is that the proposal for a Roundtable was worked out and made public by the citizens' movement "Democracy Now" after consultation with the other opposition movements and groups. ADN itself had, on 21 November 1989, reported on a meeting between our representative Dr Gerhard Weigt and the chairman of the LDPD [Liberal Democractic Party of Germany], Manfred Gerlach, on this issue.

The citizens' movement "Democracy Now" thinks that, in the interests of a new political culture in our country, it is necessary that the state media report truthfully on the work of the opposition movements and concede equal rights and fair conditions to them. The preferential treatment of the SED and the older parties can no longer be tolerated. The equal presence of the opposition in the media is a fundamental precondition for the Roundtable.

Ministry Denies Forum Company Part of SED

LD2711163989 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2018 GMT 26 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—State Secretary Alexander Schalck-Golodkowski of the GDR Foreign Trade Ministry has made a statement to ADN strongly denying claims by Western media on Sunday that the "Forum GMBH" is responsible to the Socialist Unity Party of Germany. This company is a part of the GDR foreign trade system and has always passed on all income to the state.

Decree Dissolves Personal Hunting Grounds

AU2211150189 East Berlin NATIONAL-ZEITUNG in German 19 Nov 89 p 4

[ADN report: "All Personal Hunting Grounds Will Be Dissolved; Decree on the Further Management of the Previous Public Hunting Grounds, Game Research Areas, and Special Hunting Grounds"]

[Text] Berlin—In order to ensure further work in the previous public hunting grounds, game research areas, and special hunting grounds, I issue the following decree:

1. In all previously public hunting grounds, game research areas, and special hunting areas, hunting groups have to be newly established or these areas are to be linked with existing hunting groups.

2. All types of personal hunting grounds are to be dissolved. All special hunting grounds established by kreis or bezirk organs are to be dissolved and special regulations for certain persons in existing hunting parties are to be rescinded.

3. The previous hunting grounds of Lindow, Oderberg, Schlaubetal, Rosenthal, Trautenstein, Leutenberg, Dreiherrnstein, Neudorf-Oberwiesenthal, Nossentiner Heide, Serrahn, and Born are to be organized as hunting grounds in which foreigners can hunt if they pay for this in a freely convertible currency. The respective special regulations will be issued by the director of the Supreme Hunting Authority in agreement with the responsible organs.

4. The public hunting ground of Maerkisch Buchholz remains the hunting ground for the diplomats accredited in the GDR.

5. The public Johannismuehle hunting ground continues to be at the disposal of the Supreme Command of the Western Group of Soviet Armed Forces.

6. The game research areas of Rothemuehl, Nedlitz, Hohenbucko, Wriezen, Spree, Milkwitz, Glesien, Eibenstock, Hakel, and Alexisbad continue to exist. The previous public hunting ground of Waren/Mueritz is to be reduced to the boundaries of 1970, to be administered as a game research area, and to be developed into a nature preserve of central importance. The tasks of the conservation of the countryside and of nature in this area will be fulfilled by the Waren Forestry State Enterprise via a nature conservation station.

The game research areas serve for hunting research, as well as for the testing and practical use of scientific findings. For every area, scientific objectives have to be developed by the Eberswalde Forestry Institute.

7. The areas mentioned under points 3 to 6 are administered by the responsible public forest enterprises. In these areas, the head and district foresters are also the hunting directors for the territory administered by them. Special regulations will be issued for the use of the buildings and technical equipment in this areas.

8. The game preserves created in all national forest enterprises in agreement with the local councils of the municipalities, cities, and kreises, may at the most comprise 10 percent of the wooded area of a hunting ground.

All closing measures, beyond the required temporary measures of blocking entry to the woods to protect the woods in case of increased danger of forest fires or other dangerous situations and measures that serve to protect forest cultures, are prohibited.

9. This decree invalidates all regulations contrary to this decree.

10. The directors of the bezirk and kreis hunting authorities are responsible for all measures and regulations which are required for the complete implementation of the decree and are to be concluded by 31 December 1989.

11. This decree becomes immediately effective.

Berlin, 13 November 1989

Lietz,

Minister.

Editorial Urges Trust in New Government

AU2211144989 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 18-19 Nov 89 p 2

[Thomas Muenstermann editorial: "Modrow's Government"]

[Text] This edition carries the government statement and a report on the People's Chamber debate. Therefore, it cannot be our journalistic task to summarize these texts here. Rather, we want to try to demonstrate, by means of a few examples, what is different and better than before, which new focal points have been introduced, and what speaks in favor of the seriousness and the irreversibility of the radical renewal of socialism in our country.

Modrow's government has developed out of discussions on an equal basis between the parties represented in it—the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED], the

Democratic Peasants Party, the Christian Democratic Union of Germany, the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany, and the National Democratic Party of Germany. It was not, as in the past, designed on the drawing board somewhere up "above" and then presented to the People's Chamber virtually as a finished product. It is a government of coalition, of a newly understood, creative political alliance.

At the People's Chamber session, the government declared its determination to honestly do everything so that the just-initiated democratic renewal of the entire public life strikes strong roots. For this purpose, one needs, above all—and this was probably the guiding principle for the composition of the government—competence, which has already been proved and has to be proved in the future, instead of nepotism, and one needs a high level of efficiency in work.

The government statement contains, if one may say so, two pledges. One is the pledge to what has been accomplished by the people over the past decades, the intention to maintain it with hard work, to save it from new crises, and to multiply it in line with the real possibilities. The other is: Modrow's government considers itself accountable to the People's Chamber. It has to account to the People's Chamber and, thus, to the people—to no one else.

The composition and the statement of the government expresses a real capability of consensus. It calls upon all parties and organizations, the churches, and the various interest groups to contribute their views and their advice to the government's work.

The government wants to be open to everyone to an unprecedented extent. In view of this, it is of great interest to see how essential aspects of the SED action program but also of the position papers of the other parties have been included in the government statement.

This is probably everything else but a concluded process. The spokesmen of the parties, of all other groups, and individual deputies with their contributions, questions, and demands presented further serious proposals for renewal in the most varied fields of social life. In this respect, nothing is finished, nothing has been quietly given the blessing. On the contrary: Creative and constructive restlessness will operate as a motivator of government work.

Of course, one has to talk about the specific cornerstones of the statement. They include the reform of the political system, a profound economic reform, a program which harmonizes the economy and ecology, a radical administrative reform, and the stabilization of the state finances and of foreign trade. What has to be done immediately in the interest of the people is the stabilization of material production and the stabilization of supplies to the population.

But now we have already arrived at the details—highly important details all of them—which we did not want to discuss here. Therefore, just two comprehensive thoughts. The first: The government statement is no longer a pious pipe dream, as it was all too long in the past. It is realistic and, in the best sense of the word, sober. It shows honesty, modesty, and the determination to engage in quality work. It aims at better socialism, with opportunities for everyone to create a varied and fulfilled life for himself. This also includes political and ideological tolerance.

And the other thought: It is good to see how our foreign policy, which is directed at peace, security, and cooperation, is to be continued, in particular also toward the FRG. Reunification, as it is dreamed of at some firesides in the West, is not on the agenda. However, reasonable coexistence and togetherness in a European home are indeed on the agenda.

In conclusion: There is an international tradition of granting a new government 100 days of grace or even honeymoon. We, too, need time, in particular in view of the critical escalation of the situation. The government now has to stand its test day by day. Modrow's Cabinet has not made any promises that cannot be fulfilled and it has not distributed any rubber checks. It considers itself a government of the people, of work, of peace, and of socialism. The citizens will measure their new government by its deeds. They themselves will judge the extent to which its intentions have been fulfilled. All observers of yesterday's People's Chamber session agreed on one thing: The government is asking for trust and it needs trust. Whoever grants it this necessary trust can show this by his word and in his daily work for the welfare of the country and its citizens.

Military Doctors Deployed To Aid Health Sector

AU2211145389 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 18-19 Nov 89 p 2

[ND report: "Military Doctors Care for Citizens"]

[Text] East Berlin—On Friday [17 November] Defense Ministry spokesmen reported on further steps to support the health sector through the Armed Forces. The Bad Saarow Military Medical Academy as well as Army hospitals and institutions are taking on comprehensive diagnostic services, including laboratory tests, as well as outpatient and inpatient treatment of the citizens, including surgery. Thus, the proportion of civilians receiving inpatient treatment at the Military Medical Academy currently amounts to 60 percent and that of civilians receiving outpatient treatment to 65 percent.

Such and other aid can only be accomplished by reducing other services, as, for instance, the suspension of preventive checkups in the National People's Army. In this connection, it is stressed that medical care for the Army members must be ensured in the interest of the defense readiness. Calls for handing over medical institutions of the National People's Army to the regional health sector can, therefore, not be heeded. In the future, too, these institutions will be required for specific, internationally recognized, military medical checks and treatment, as well as for checking medical fitness for Army service.

Positive Aspects of New Government Viewed

AU2211162889 East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 18-19 Nov 89 p 1

[Axel Knack commentary: "Chances of the Coalition"]

[Text] What new Premier Modrow had to tell the deputies in his government statement at the People's Chamber session yesterday gave the impression that this man knows crisis management, which is now vital. Soberly, with a finger on many sore spots, he is looking for a way out of stagnation and failed developments, which become more obvious every day.

No whitewashing and empty phrases were heard. Realism and a cool calculation of what is feasible dominated this speech. One felt that if the experiment of socialism on German soil is to have a future, the practical approaches to renewal were cited yesterday.

One more thing must not be forgotten: No matter how clever they were, these were not the ideas of an individual. The outlines of the action program of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] are also visible, and they are not the only ones. As the subsequent debate showed, the other parties which are represented in parliament feel correctly understood for the first time. It was repeatedly stressed that their ideas had been contributed to the statement made by Modrow.

Not only their ideas were contributed. Modrow presented his slimmed-down government. The number of ministers was reduced to almost half. Despite the necessary slimming down, the other parties were able to raise the number of their seats in the new Cabinet. In this government they will not be used as a democratic fig leaf, but will live up to their responsibility with their own competence in specific subjects—in a coalition government!

This was one of the words that was used often yesterday. The Democratic Peasants Party, the Christian Democratic Union of Germany [CDU], the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany, and the National Democratic Party of Germany form a coalition with the SED. They have severed the ties of patronage.

Apart from party affiliation, the new Cabinet of Modrow's government is also interesting for another reason. New names give hope for more efficiency in the steering of the state chariot. The fact that in the person of the CDU chairman a deputy premier was appointed whose sphere of responsibility is church affairs permits one to assume that this government is interested in an open, honest dialogue with the churches. This would also be a blessing for the necessary domestic policy consensus, if one takes into consideration that it was the churches which tried in a businesslike way to put the process of change into motion.

One bitter drop of the debate should be mentioned: People's Chamber President Maleuda announced that the Presidium decided to hold a closed plenary session of the People's Chamber on 1 December. There, the responsibility of the former government is to be investigated further. This is not a good decision. All of the people are interested in whose music it is that they have to face now.

Herger Speaks at People's Chamber Session

AU2211174589 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 18-19 Nov 89 pp 5-6

[Speech by Politburo member Wolfgang Herger at the People's Chamber session: "Peaceful Revolution Toward a Democratic Socialism"—in Berlin on 17 November]

[Text] Mr President, esteemed deputies:

Today's session is taking place at a fateful time for our people. "We are gaining the experience of freedom." Volker Braun's statement applies to the feeling of the masses, who have brought about the new start of our country. This time is the time of liberation from the old ways of thinking and crusty structures. It is the time of despair and new hope, of mistrust and the struggle for new trust. A peaceful revolution toward a democratic socialism is blazing its trail.

Hope is based mainly on a three-fold consensus:

There is the consensus in the will for radical renewal of socialism in our country.

There is the consensus for the unconditional strengthening of the sovereignty of the people and its state, the GDR.

There is the consensus on openness in the work of the parliament and the government.

The group of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] supports the government statement of Premier Hans Modrow. Its domestic and foreign policy guidelines meet with our unreserved agreement. The group agrees with the proposals for the formation of a government. We are a strong government, which completely exercises its authority for the welfare of our country. Therefore, we, as the SED group, accept the responsibility that in the future neither the Politburo nor the Central Committee will interfere in the government work. The government is accountable only to this supreme body of the people and to no one else.

We are in an economic and political situation which does not leave much time to us all. Nevertheless, our decisions today set the switches for the future of our country.

We SED deputies will struggle in the People's Chamber and outside parliament for having all reforms aimed at a socialism, as Marx, Engels, and Lenin outlined it in its basic contours and basic values, as it comes close to the workers' interests and the ideals of humanity. The SED breaks with all deformities of socialism in the GDR. The purification process is profound, but it is necessary. The task of the extraordinary party congress, which has been convened for December is to promote the renewal of our party.

Esteemed deputies, the SED leadership has clearly acknowledged the serious mistakes of the past. However, I also have to say that this must not lead to a general condemnation of every comrade of my party. On the contrary, precisely from this rostrum I would like to convey the thanks of the Central Committee to my comrades for their steadfast work in these difficult days.

The SED supports the coalition of the political parties in the government. We are convinced that socialism requires the determining influence of the workers class in the society and its alliance with the cooperative peasants, the intelligentsia, and with all working people in town and countryside. Who does not or does not want to see this force, which is making history, ultimately calls socialism into question. I cannot imagine that anyone seriously wants to do this.

Esteemed deputies, our party is in favor of fundamentally changing and amending the Constitution. The renewal of socialism in the GDR demands this unconditionally. Many proposals have already been made for this purpose by all parties, including mine, by the mass organizations, by other social forces, and also by science. These proposals mainly refer to the leading role of the SED, the position of the National Front, forms of socialist ownership, the freedom of opinion and of the media, freedom of assembly and association, legality and the rule of law, or constitutional jurisdiction.

For this reason, on behalf of our party, Egon Krenz submitted the proposal to form a committee for amending and changing the GDR Constitution. This committee should include representatives of all party groups, workers, and other working people, representatives of social movements which do not belong to the People's Chamber, representatives of church and religious communities, legal experts, and representatives of other scientific disciplines. The draft worked out by the committee should be put up for public discussion and should be dealt with by the People's Chamber in several readings.

Emergency Program for Stabilizing Our Economy

The SED group agrees with the premier that improving the economy is the most important task of the new government. We support the basic directions to stabilize the economic situation. In its action program, the SED presented proposals for this purpose. Working them out in more detail, translating them into measures, and implementing them with determination will be the assignment for the government work of the SED representatives.

In view of the size, variety, and complicated nature of the economic tasks that have to be solved, we consider it right to come to an understanding in the common consensus of all groups on an emergency program for stabilizing our economy. This should adopt a specific form with the laws on the national economic plan and the state budget for 1990, which we have to decide. At the same time, the thorough preparation and stage-by-stage implementation of an economic reform is the decisive question to give our national economy dynamism and efficiency again. The economic reform must not be a turning away from such basic values of socialism as public ownership; social security; full employment; the performance principle; production in line with the needs of the people, which, of course, are not set down by my party's Politburo; and solid health and social care.

We also consider it indispensable to treat the environment more carefully. In this connection, we are in agreement with many industrious citizens' initiatives. It is necessary to replace the priority of the economy with a consciously shaped interaction between economy and ecology.

Effective Synthesis of Plan and Market

We are of one opinion with Hans Modrow: The economic reform must clear out the rubbish from planning and must establish an effective synthesis of plan and market. Reform does not begin and end with the abolition of planning. It will achieve its goal only if the relationship between goods and money can develop freely. Socialist entrepreneurial spirit—this term has been used repeatedly today—scientific-technological creativity, interest of the producers in their own high performance, and responsibility for society—these things should be given room by the socialist economic system, which has to be renewed.

The SED is in favor of fully tapping all the potential of small and medium-sized enterprises, including private and cooperative crafts. Everywhere where the population's demand for consumer goods and services and repair services must be met, the necessary decisions are to be made quickly and unbureaucratically.

Esteemed deputies, the SED group supports the proposals of the government statement for reforming the political system. Their core is—and this is the clear view of my party—the democratization of society. All social groups, organizations, citizens' communities, and initiatives have room in this system, including those like the New Forum and others. My party is open to any form of cooperation at all levels. We should also introduce this understanding of democracy into the new election law. We support the proposal for forming a corresponding People's Chamber committee. We are of the opinion that people's representatives cannot only be representatives of parties.

We consider the maintenance of order and security for all citizens under any conditions as the fundamental task of the government and of the judicial organs. We must not simply ignore the fact that times of social change harbor the danger of an increase in crimes, violence, and speculation. We are already confronted with phenomena of this kind. We must counter this with the entire strength of society, the state, and the law.

Our party has made the proposal to establish an Office of National Security. This is not just a simple change of name. This proposal is based on a new understanding, a new philosophy, if you like, for state security. The tasks of the office would be, for instance—as it is usual all over the world, by the way—the uncovering of peace-endangering plans, the protection against espionage or terrorism, and—in line with our antifascist traditions—the repulsion of neo-fascist and anti-Semitic activities.

Such a consequence for renewal in the security area arises, not least, from the conclusions we have to draw from the events around 7 October. A new concept of security will also make it impossible once and for all that a minister, working in this highly sensitive area, will ever again make such an unfortunate appearance. This we owe to the honest employees in this sector, who are fulfilling their duty day by day and who make sure that peace exists and continues to exist.

The renewal of our political system does not in any way call into question our obligations concerning our military alliance. Egon Krenz again affirmed this yesterday evening in a talk with Army General Lushev, commander-in-chief of the Warsaw Pact Joint Forces. It is indispensable to change the defense law, not only because of establishing alternative service, but also because of the shaping of the preparation for military service, the service conditions of non- professional soldiers, and service conditions in military professions. A reform of the military sector in the GDR should include the contents of training in the National People's Army as well as military hierarchy, the structures, and also the duration of military service. Of course, the technical knowledge of soldiers and officers is needed in this process.

Parades for the military's presenting itself should be refrained from in the future.

Before this supreme people's representation, I would like to cordially thank the members of the People's Police, the border soldiers, the employees of passport control, and the customs officials, who are facilitating with circumspection, readiness for work, and friendliness the exit and entrance of millions of people. At the same time, our border soldiers are making sure day and night that the national border of our country remains inviolable.

We respect the sacrificial work of the local people's representative bodies and their councils, which, at this time full of tension, are doing everything so that everyday life in the towns and villages works as smoothly as possible.

In the coalition government, the SED will advocate an independent local government in the best sense of the word. Already with the 1990 plans, steps for the communities' own stable income are to be introduced, an income the use of which the responsible people's representative bodies can decide themselves. Enterprises, which are doing communal service for the citizens, should be subordinated to the cities. This would facilitate direct financial relations between them and the local budgets. The towns and villages are also to receive greater shares in the taxes levied in their regions, a considerable part of which have so far mostly been appropriated by superior state organs. These taxes include crafts and business taxes.

It would correspond to the importance of the towns and villages if the People's Chamber—as our Deputy Monika Werner proposed on Monday [13 November] here—decided on a law on socialist town and village regulations and thus established a local constitution.

We are convinced that the government, which we will elect today, will fulfill its constitutional assignment for the unified implementation of the state's policy. This is indicated by Hans Modrow's government statement, and this is indicated by the composition of this Cabinet as a grand coalition of all parties.

I stress once again: We are for the most radical reforms, if they advance socialism. We say "No!" to the reforms which dismantle socialism.

In this spirit, my party will support the government with all its strength.

Construction of Luxury Homes Noted

AU2411081589 East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 18-19 Nov 89 p 6

[Report by Alexander Osang and Andre Mielke: "Mysterious Buildings Behind Thick Hedges"]

[Text] We reported on the work of many Berlin combines, enterprises, and units of enterprises in the past. On some we provided more information, on others less, for various reasons. At least one enterprise unit in Berlin has not been mentioned at all. A few days ago, a reader drew our attention to this construction company and its unusual production profile.

The enterprise involved is the VEB Special Construction enterprise unit in Potsdam Berlin. It is responsible for the maintenance of the equipment of the Western Group of Soviet Armed Forces. In addition, its production program also included (and still includes?) special projects. We learned this from Karin H. (we changed her name because she was afraid that the publication of her name might have negative effects), who held a leading position in this enterprise for 9 years, and from Ulrich Mueller, who worked there from 1978-81 as the head of the section for heating/sanitary equipment, and electrical engineering. Karin H. is now working for another construction company. Ulrich Mueller works as a technical manager in the rehabilitation center of Lichtenberg.

Ulrich Mueller explained to us what was essentially behind the term special projects; "These projects were usually grand single-family houses with large living space and opulent furniture, located in pleasant surroundings. In this connection, it is important to know that the complete construction department of our enterprise unit had the status of national defense organ. Thus, we received preferential treatment concerning the supply of building material, also for the special projects. As far as I had access to information, we frequently built houses for persons who produced references from their fathers, grandfathers, and uncles who were politicians." To give us an idea of these special projects, Ulrich Mueller offered to show us some of them.

First we drove to the northwestern border of Berlin. In the middle of a forest, in a remote and peaceful location and well-protected from curious spectators by hedges and fences, we discovered four single-family houses in whose construction Ulrich Mueller participated until 1981. "A special transformer house was built for these projects nearby," he told us. "We usually did everything from the felling of trees to handing over the keys, from cleaning the floor to cleaning the windows and laying out the garden." Neighbors told us that a separate telephone line was laid to this remote area (the municipality received a telephone booth) and that the garbage is being collected by a special vehicle that does not belong to the garbage collection service.

On our tour, we also saw various other former sites of the VEB Special Construction in Karow, Wendenschloss, Hohenschoenhausen, for example. Not all of them were located in such idyllic areas, and they also varied concerning the shape and size. Most of the time, there were no door plates, but the houses were usually fitted with press-to-talk intercom systems and had gardens that resembled parks.

Ulrich Mueller pointed out other things that these houses had in common: "Only in exceptional cases had we contact with the people for whom we built the houses. Usually we only talked to their representatives, which were the housing administrations of the Ministry for State Security and the supply facilities of the Council of Ministers."

We asked whether the houses were also designed and equipped by the VEB Special Production. Karin H. states: "Occasionally the projects were designed in our enterprise. Both concerning the design and interior decoration, the wishes of the inhabitants were taken into consideration. This concerned the heating, the shape and color of the tiles, for example. We used Canadian wood, Italian floor mosaic, and West German sanitary equipment. In many cases, the standard equipment of bathrooms included bidets." Ulrich Mueller reports: "I was often told to have fittings from the FRG installed. In my sphere, the special wishes included the installation of saunas with cold-water basins and special pressure showers for massage."

A few years ago, both of them changed jobs.

Ulrich Mueller stresses: "Today I am responsible for creating acceptable living conditions for handicapped people. To achieve this, we naturally need certain material preconditions. However, we often receive only one-third of the things that we urgently need and for which we apply. A thing like that was inconceivable when I worked for the VEB Special Construction. We simply received everything. I still get angry when I think of a woman who made us remove the tiles that she personally had chosen just because she had changed her mind overnight. We immediately complied with her wish."

We know the addresses of all the houses in and around Berlin that we visited. In some cases, we also know the names of the inhabitants, and their relationship with the politicians. The houses were built for the children of Guenter Mittag and Horst Sindermann, for example. The supply of imported material was organized by the Foreign Trade Ministry.

If we do not publish their addresses and do not indicate which house was built for whom, it is because we do not want the understandable indignation of our readers to be directly aimed at the houses and the people, also because we do not want to insinuate that the current inhabitants have got these houses in a dubious way. This is not what we want. What we want is to shed light upon the activities of VEB Special Construction which have been kept secret so far, and to ensure that it is disclosed what amount of urgently needed construction material was used there, and who made the enormous amount of foreign currency available for the material that was imported. Therefore, we supply all facts that we discovered and the numerous hints by our readers to the Office of the General Prosecuting Attorney and to the corresponding investigating committee of the People's Chamber.

On Tuesday [14 November] we asked a representative of the VEB Special Construction to comment on the outcome of our investigations. He told us that unfortunately this is not possible because he is bound to utmost secrecy.

'Science Initiative Group' Calls 9 Dec Rally

LD1911012689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2314 GMT 18 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Scientists belonging to several GDR Academy Institutes have called people to attend a rally in the Berlin Lustgarten/Marx-Engels-Platz on 9 December. The organizer is the Academy's "Science Initiative Group."

Its spokesman, Ralf Koechert, told ADN that they are confident that permission will be granted for the rally.

Initiative groups of doctors artists, and jurists were also being invited. Representatives of parties and organizations can also attend.

This rally will differ from previous similar demonstrations because it will be more programmatic, Ralf Koechert stressed. It is no longer the time simply to list demands. What is more needed now is constructive proposals to solve social problems in the GDR. Hence the Initiative Group will also offer a number of ministers the opportunity to set out their specific action programs for the next 6 to 12 months, in order to win the citizens' trust.

The slogan of the rally, which will be a follow-up to the large-scale Berlin rally of 4 November, is "Thinking ahead so there is a future."

SED's Reissig Stresses Need for Reforms

AU1711120689 Vienna NEUE AZ in German 17 Nov 89 pp 6-7

[Peter Pelinka report on interview with Rolf Reissig, director of the Institute for Social Sciences of the SED Central Committee: "Krenz Will Remain Leader"; in East Berlin—date not given]

[Excerpts] "Egon Krenz will probably remain in office after the coming party congress in the middle of December," Rolf Reissig, director of the Institute for Social Sciences of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] stated in an interview with NEUE AZ in East Berlin. He does not believe that the current state and party leader is to be seen as a transition figure. [passage omitted]

Concerning the need for economic reforms, he stresses: "It is important now to improve our bad economic situation by introducing more components of the market economy, by strengthening democracy in all spheres, and by publicly discussing who is responsible for past mistakes." The role of Guenther Mittag in particular has to be examined, who concealed data about the real economic situation even from his closest aides. The GDR's aim must be to gain strength in cooperation with foreign forces. "We are striving for a sensible parity between state and private ownership of production means."

Parliamentary Groups Discuss Statement

LD1711195289 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1558 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—The speakers of the groups represented in the People's Chamber have called the government statement presented on Friday by Prime Minister Dr Hans Modrow a suitable basis for the process of restructuring in the GDR and promised their constructive, if critical cooperation. [passage omitted]

It is very good that the future government contains three women who bear responsibility for important social areas, DFD [Democratic Women's League of Germany] Chairperson Eva Rohmann underlined. She called for a realistic plan for 1990, more socially just subsidies, graduated child allowances, improved hire-purchase terms, pension reform, more comprehensive care for older citizens, and measures for stabailizing supplies for the population.

Annette Roemhild, on behalf of the Peasants' Mutual Aid Association, resolutely called peasants to greater independent responsibility for cooperative-owned property, cooperative democracy, and distribution. Hand in hand with it should go a greater decision-making rights by those working in agriculture concerning the use of the natural, economic, and technical opportunities. Working and living conditions have to be improved. A proportion of the LPG [Agricultural Producer Cooperative] profit payments to the state should be returned to the village communities. [passage omitted]

Professor Dr Karl-Heinz Schulmeister, on behalf of the Cultural League, recalled the prohibitions, tutelage, and mistrust which in recent years had disturbed the relationship between politicians and intelligentsia. Alternative proposals, and the knowledge and know-how of intellectuals should be included in essential decisions. He referred to the worrying condition of many old cities and to ecological abuses. Likewise, the general standards of the country, moral values such as diligence, honesty, pride, and dignity, gave rise to concern.

After the comments by the parliamentary groups on the government statement, the debate in the People's chamber began.

FDGB Tries To Distance Itself From SED

AU1711130089 Hamburg DIE WELT in German 17 Nov 89 p 8

[Unattributed report: "FDGB Draws Border to SED; East Berlin Recalls Doctors"]

[Text] Bonn—According to information obtained by DIE WELT, the various units of the Free German Trade Union Federation [FDGB] of the GDR are also facing changes. Thus, the current FDGB leaders are thinking of carrying out elections in the basic organizations in December and January, and thus determine the majority of the delegates for an extraordinary FDGB Congress. This trade union congress is intended to be held at the beginning of March 1990. There, not only personnel changes at the top are to be made, but a new statute and a new election regulation are to be decided. In addition, the basic principles of the future work of the FDGB are to be discussed. In the future, every FDGB functionary is to be given the choice of whether he wants to stay in the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED]. According to information obtained by DIE WELT, the FDGB functionaries have now already been told by the SED not to block wishes for travel by their subordinates any more. At the same time, the SED told the functionaries that their own wishes for trips will not be refused. Furthermore, there are voices in the current FDGB leadership that want to demand an accountability report on the use of financial means at the next session of the National Executive Council. In addition, on this occasion the "privileges" of the FDGB leadership are to be discussed.

Apart from the obvious political changes, further details are becoming known from the GDR. DIE WELT has learned that new travel regulations are being worked out for members of the National People's Army (NVA). According to these, soldiers and civilian employees of the NVA are permitted to travel to the West if they are not classified as people with access to secrets. Furthermore, there is interesting information that, as of now, the NVA members are prohibited to wear their uniforms outside their service hours.

In view of the marked lack of doctors, the GDR has recalled all doctors who are working in the Third World or studying in Western countries. Thus, a number of doctors who have been working in Ethiopia are preparing to return home.

The GDR Government obviously has problems with the people who return home. According to information obtained by DIE WELT, the Magdeburg city administration has declared itself unable to provide 150 returnees—who had fled via Hungary with the first wave—with apartments to replace their own apartments, which have meanwhile been given to other people. Further difficulties emerged concerning compensation for the returnees' furniture, which has meanwhile been sold at the order of the city. It is said that often the authorities cannot find out to whom and at what price the furniture was sold. Therefore, the responsible functionaries expect considerable juridical complications in case of potential claims for compensation by returnees. Against the background of these experiences, the responsible authorities have meanwhile decided not to clear out the apartments of refugees for the time being, but to seal them.

Erfurt Bezirk Assembly Meets in 'Unusual Way'

LD1711205289 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1856 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Text] Erfurt (ADN)—The Erfurt Bezirk [Area] Assembly session opened today in an unusual way. For the first time deputies set among the ranks of the newly elected legislative caucuses. The new permanent session chairmanship was taken over by German Peasant's Party caucus Chairman Wolfgang Lange who—after the agenda point on cadre issues and the removal from office of several deputies, including Gerhard Mueller (Socialist Unity Party of Germany) and Gerhard Nennstiel (Free German Trade Union Federation)—suggested that they listen first of all to the radio broadcast of Hans Modrow's government statement.

Afterward, the Bezirk council chairman, Arthur Swatek, explained the causes of the "deep political and economic crisis." The council was aware of the critical situation prevailing in the national economy and in many social, cultural, and ecological areas. Analyses and discussions have taken place, but not publicly, which has turned out to be a leading mistake. Furthermore, the scope for action and powers has been increasingly pulled along by the Bezirk executive's Secretariat. An ad-hoc committee with representatives from all the caucuses will be set up to uncover mercilessly cases of abuse of power and corruption.

Since the beginning of this year 12,560 citizens—including 105 doctors, 167 teachers and educators, 1,114 retail trade and restaurant workers—have left the Bezirk. Already it can be seen that the house-building program in a number of towns and villages cannot be fulfilled, the council chairman said. [passage omitted]

Students Applaud Proposal To Abolish Dogma Exam

LD1711211389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1913 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Text] [no dateline as received] (ADN)—The socioscientific training of students should only amount to 30-40 hours per annum, the lectures must be either an optional extra or optional [ger-wahlobligatorisch oder fakultativ]—this is the call of Peter Feist from the Marxism/Leninism section of the Humboldt University. He spoke in favor of the abolition of the main examination in Marxism-Leninism to great applause.

Because his fellow students had come out against the events in China, Achim Damm from the student council of the Berlin Kunsthochschule [Art University] reported, they had been described by the state as a "stronghold of counter-revolution." Even at the end of September the rector of the Kunsthochschule had been asked to withdraw from the university register those students who had signed on with the New Forum citizens intiative.

About 10,000 students, young scientists and sympathizers took part in the rally.

Modrow Discusses Travel Regulations, Kohl

AU2111151089 Hamburg DIE ZEIT in German 17 Nov 89 p 3

[Interview with GDR Premier Hans Modrow by Dieter Buhl in Dresden: "We Must Overcome This Hectic State"—date not given]

[Text] Dresden, in November—The old mansion overlooking Dresden brings back memories of happier days, of the bourgeois era. With its high wrought-iron gates and its furniture in the style of the late fifties, it serves today as the guest house of the Dresden Bezirk leadership of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED]. Last Saturday [9 November] its former landlord, Hans Modrow, received Johannes Rau, minister president of North Rhine-Westphalia, for detailed talks. In an improvised news conference, the member of the SED Politburo, who was elected as premier of the GDR on Monday, answered journalists' questions.

DIE ZEIT: What do you regard as the most important effects of the new travel regulations?

Modrow: The most important effect is that the issue of emigration no longer affects any third country, like Hungary or the CSSR. It is important that emigration now takes place directly between the two (German) states on the direct route across the border. Second—this is what I felt when I watched the events on [the GDR news program] "Aktuelle Kamera" and in your media—the people get a feeling of normality in this respect. Quite a few people were asked in West Berlin: Do you consider this a step that will help strengthen the confidence in the GDR? Many answered this question affirmatively. Thus, I must assume that this step will also create confidence for my future work. Yet I want to say quite frankly that I consider it necessary that the resulting economic problems must be discussed between the two states....

DIE ZEIT: Are you thinking in terms of a financial support by the FRG...?

Modrow: I am also thinking of financial problems that result from the new travel regulations. Many things are directly related to this situation. Yet this must not mean that one has only accepted this, so to speak. It is necessary that we discuss this other (economic) element together, and take the appropriate steps.

DIE ZEIT: How do you assess the FRG Government's reaction to the reform process in the GDR so far?

Modrow: Chancellor Kohl really ought to discuss matters with the GDR politicians, with Mr Krenz, with the foreign minister—I do not know to what extent this will include myself. We ought to particularly get used to not always exerting pressure on the other side from outside. We ought to try to achieve objectivity in our mutual statements. After all, what is to come of this perpetual planning in advance?

DIE ZEIT: What exactly do you mean by that?

Modrow: For example, I am thinking of those questions that refer only to the GDR. The gentlemen of the New Forum themselves say that one ought not to rush elections. However, if the FRG chancellor were to decide, he would call elections at Christmas. What is the good of that? This will always be a question that we must decide ourselves. With his intervention he even fails to reach that circle which he believes that he ought to reach.

DIE ZEIT: Can you imagine a coalition government with some of the new groups of the opposition?

Modrow: I have started talks with the other parties (the other block parties, namely the Democratic Peasants' Party of Germany, the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany, the National Democratic Party of Germany, and the Christian Democratic Union). We have agreed on the question of how to form the cabinet. Time will tell what comes afterwards. Now it is important to form a coalition government; if such a coalition involves five parties, one might even speak of a grand coalition. The parties will be represented in the new government in a different way than they used to in the GDR before.

DIE ZEIT: The opposition is in the process of forming itself. A condition for being able to work properly must be that they get the same opportunities as the established parties, such as access to the media and support for the necessary logistics.

Modrow: First steps have already been taken. Mrs Bohley of the New Forum has met with my friend Mischa Wolff and, together with him, she participated in a discussion on television. Everything must have a beginning. Nobody ought to demand that everything must now happen at once. We are currently under great pressure anyway, and it would be better to overcome this hectic state. Nobody needs to ask whether we continue to move forward, because this is exactly what we want to do. Yesterday somebody from New Forum made a wise statement: If we are the engine at the rear of the train then we must know how to push so that we do not cause the first car to derail. We must learn how do treat each other. This is our cause, but it is also the cause of the New Forum in order to master this process of revolutionary renewal.

DIE ZEIT: Can you imagine that at the end of the reform process, and once the promised free elections have been held, the SED will only be the second- or third-strongest force?

Modrow: I think that this questions starts from something that is not imaginable. Yet in politics one must never say never. What is true for the other parties is also true for us: We do not want to give up our current position and the existing ratio of representation.

DIE ZEIT: Would you object to FRG parties supporting the new groups in the GDR?

Modrow: Now the forces must first establish themselves. Subsequently they will be able to hold their own in their own country. I think that this is the right approach.

Appeal by National Democratic Youth Organization

AU2211124289 East Berlin NATIONAL-ZEITUNG in German 17 Nov 89 p 2

["Text" of "Founding Appeal From Aue"]

[Text] Young people!

—We address those of you who have been disappointed by your youth organization in the past.

—We address those of you who only failed because you had opinions of your own.

In view of the topical events it is urgently necessary for all youth circles to make their specific contribution to implementing the great tasks of our society's democratic renewal with which we are confronted.

Therefore—National Democratic Youth!

NDJ is National Democratic Youth.

We want a youth association which continues positive national and democratic traditions and ideals, young people who are distinguished by their strong attachment to their homeland.

Come to us!

—We need anybody between 14 and 25 years old.

—We want young people who determine their objectives themselves and upon whom nothing is forced.

We need your ideas!

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Chief Editor on Changes in Editorial Board

AU2311105789 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 16 Nov 89 p 1

[Editorial by Wolgang Spickermann, new editor-in-chief of NEUES DEUTSCHLAND: "On Our Own Account"]

[Text] On page two of this edition, our readers will find a new masthead. As of today NEUES DEUTSCHLAND has a new leadership.

As in all basic organizations of our party, over the past weeks the comrades in the editorial team and the publishing house have dealt intensively with their work in the past, have tried to analyze the serious deficiencies, and have worked out a standpoint on how we, as journalists and staff members of the organ of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, can contribute to the renewal of our party. The result of these discussions is not only the new composition of the editorial board, but, above all, the concept for a renewed newspaper.

The issues are new contents, more information, political standpoints, and up-to-date journalistic work. We consider ourselves as a forum for the democratic formation of opinion in our party. The new newspaper involves the inclusion of our readers, the comrades in the enterprises and the agricultural producer cooperatives, in scientific institutions and cultural facilities, and the working people everywhere in the country. Realism, truthfulness, and party-affiliation—these must and will be the guidelines of our future actions. The results of our work are to speak for themselves.

Wolfgang Spickermann, editor-in-chief.

[The masthead on page two reads as follows: NEUES DEUTSCHLAND editorial board: editor-in-chief—Wolfgang Spickermann; deputy editors-in-chief—Reiner Oschmann, Michael Mueller, Dieter Brueckner, Rolf Guenther; Rosemarie Blaschke, Peter Berger, Karin Doerre, Sander Drobela, Hans-Joerg Gloede, Gerd Prokot, Klaus Ullrich; director of the publishing company—Rudolf Danek]

Government Officials on Speculation Practices

AU2211140389 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 16 Nov 89 pp 1,2

[ADN/ND report on news conference by government spokesman Wolfgang Meyer and other government officials: "Questions and Answers on Free Travel—Profits of Speculators and What Our Customs Officials Can Do To Prevent This"—date and place not given]

[Text] The new travel regulations have been welcomed with great enthusiasm. In the meantime, however, numerous questions and problems have arisen. Journalists received initial answers at a news conference with government spokesman Wolfgang Meyer and several other government officials.

Will the GDR currency be devalued?

The vice president of the State Bank, Bruno Meier, sees "no need" for this. The government sees no need either to think about a devaluation of the GDR currency. Already before the borders with the FRG and Berlin (West) were opened, large amounts of GDR currency were exported illegally, M100 per traveler on the average. Since the GDR mark is an internal currency, the foreign currency law bans its import and export. However, it is difficult to control this.

However, after the opening of the borders, there is the danger that the illegal export of money will increase dramatically. Regulations are being drafted to counter the "danger of a sellout of the GDR."

Why are there lines in front of savings banks?

The vice president of the State Bank announces that the movements on the saving accounts in no way suggest rash deductions—out of fear of a devaluation, for example. Queues in front of savings banks and branches of banks are forming these days because people are changing the DM15 for travel to the FRG and Berlin (West). As of Thursday [16 November] it will also be possible to change money at certain post offices.

Are the rumors about "panic buying" and "speculative purchases" of subsidized goods by foreign citizens justified?

No "panic buying" has been observed, only "normal buying behavior," Manfred Merkel, deputy chairman of the minister for trade and supply, stated. The additional measures adopted by the old ministry in order to ensure supply on holidays, which had given rise to great expectations, will become effective at the end of November. This applies to tropical fruits, cocoa products, and cheese.

The deputy minister confirmed purchases by foreign tourists which affect mainly heavily subsidized goods or goods that are not available in sufficient quantities. This year, goods worth M2-2.5 billion will be involved. When taking into consideration the subsidies, this amount increases to M3-4 billion.

Currently, there is no decree that deals with the sale of illegally imported goods. Therefore, the Ministry for Trade and Supply has drafted such a regulation for itinerant trade. A license will be needed in the future.

There is talk of enormous profits by speculators. What are the customs authorities doing to prevent this?

Guenther Arndt, first deputy head of the GDR Customs Administration, said that according to information he has received, the number of citizens from the Polish People's Republic traveling through the GDR has increased. A total of 650-700,000 were registered in October alone; 40-50 percent of them are traveling to Berlin (West). A large number of these Polish citizens must be regarded as professional dealers who live by speculation. Guenther Arndt explained the following vicious circle: The money earned from the illegal sale of goods in the GDR is spent on GDR goods. These goods are exclusively sold in Berlin (West). The FRG currency earned in these deals is then again converted into GDR currency in West Berlin, and then the speculators buy goods in the GDR again in order to export them to Poland. In this way, they are making profits of up to several thousand percent.

The reason for this situation are the enormous differences in the range of products and prices between the GDR and other states. In Arndt's view, this can only be settled through urgently required economic reforms. Since 3 November, legal action against more than 1,000 Polish citizens has been taken by the GDR customs authorities. There are plans to increase the staff of customs offices.

However, not only Polish citizens must be held responsible for these purchases, Guenther Arndt stressed. He is afraid that this will hurt relations between the GDR and the Polish People's Republic that have grown over 40 years. The Polish government has expressed its willingness to cooperate in finding a solution.

What fines are the speculators facing?

They are facing fines and entry bans, Guenther Arndt stated. In the case of persons working in the GDR, their enterprises and the Polish consulate are informed. Criminal offenses are punished in accordance with the Criminal Code. He also reported on offenses by GDR citizens. A 23-year-old mechanic, for example, was caught with M21,000 under the driver's seat in a passenger car at the Marienborn border crossing.

Does the opening of the borders entail the danger that a drug wave will sweep across our country?

The danger that drug trafficking will increase does indeed exist. It must not be played down. It must be efficiently countered, which includes the responsible cooperation by all citizens, primarily the parents of young people. The customs authorities are taking measures to combat a possible increase in the smuggle of drugs. Guenther Ahrndt announced a "better specialized training for the customs officials, and an increase in the number of drug tracker dogs, and the expansion of international cooperation," such as with FRG customs authorities.

Also in the past, the drug problem has never been viewed lightly because of the proximity of the FRG and Berlin (West), which have always been main centers of drug trafficking. However, so far this has never been a social problem in the GDR. Large-scale smuggling has only occurred in transit traffic. Every year, 250-300 attempts to smuggle small amounts of drugs into the GDR are discovered.

Opening of Borders May Increase AIDS

AU2411134889 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 17 Nov 89 p 2

[Interview with Dr Niels Soennichsen by Dieter Hannes: "Is the Danger of AIDS Infection Increasing?"—date and place not given]

[Excerpts] ND: So far AIDS has been relatively rare in the GDR. As a result of the new situation of free travel to the FRG and Berlin (West), is there not the danger that the number of AIDS patients or people who are infected with AIDS will increase in the GDR?

Soennichsen: It cannot be ruled out. On 31 October a total of 4,093 AIDS patients were registered in the FRG, 861 of them in Berlin (West). The total number of infected persons is estimated at 35,000 in the FRG and at 7,000 in Berlin (West).

At the same key date, in the GDR the number of registered citizens infected with HIV amounted to 82; 16 of them are suffering from AIDS. Almost two-thirds of those infected live in our capital city.

ND: While rejoicing about the opening of the borders, many citizens are now again asking themselves how they can protect themselves against AIDS.

Soennichsen: We must provide topical information to particularly endangered persons, for instance homosexuals. Proceeding from the same idea, the colleagues who are responsible for combating AIDS in Berlin (West) came to us spontaneously. On Wednesday [15 November] we had joint discussions, exchanged experiences, and gave each other specific information. We jointly worked out a text for a flier, which will be provided to the working groups for homosexuals to which we have access over the next days. In addition, we also were informed that a particularly vicious variety of the HIV virus is spreading at present. [passage omitted]

ND: Health Minister Thielmann recently said on television that we have a good strategy to counter the danger of AIDS. Is this still sufficient today?

Soennichsen: The existing regulations and our actions against this disease so far remain correct and have been accepted by the population. But we have to intensify our education work as a result of the increased travel, we have to detail our strategy in line with the topical conditions, and we have to address the potentially endangered persons even more purposefully, and among those I count young people in general. [passage omitted]

Genscher Calls for Disarmament in GDR Interview

AU1611165789 Hamburg DPA in German 1533 GMT 16 Nov 89

[Text] Bonn—Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher expressed the view on East German television that the changes in the GDR also open up new possibilities in foreign policy for cooperation between the two German states. This applies particularly to initiatives aimed at advancing the disarmament process in Europe, Genscher stated in an interview prepared in the Foreign Office in Bonn on 16 November for the GDR Television 1 "Objektiv" program.

All sides must be interested in seeing that disarmament does not lag behind political, economic, and human developments, the minister stated. The FRG and GDR should see to it in their alliance system that new impulses are provided for the disarmament process.

According to a Foreign Office spokesman, this was the first interview that the GDR television conducted with Genscher. Members of GDR Television 1 approached Genscher in Brussels on 6 November to ask for an interview.

CDU's De Maiziere on Private Economy, Reforms

AU1611192389 Mainz ZDF Television Network in German 1800 GMT 16 Nov 89

[Report on interview with Lothar de Maiziere, chairman of the Christian Democratic Union of Germany, by Giselher Suhr in East Berlin on 16 November—recorded]

[Text] In the afternoon, the parliamentary groups met to discuss the results of the coalition negotiations. The Christian Democratic Union of Germany [CDU] banks on economic reforms combined with social security and:

[Begin recording] [De Maiziere] The importance of the private economy will certainly be increased in the crafts and services sector. However, I also think that it will be possible to establish smaller, that is, productive enterprises. I also believe that questions of the international division of labor will have to be considered from a completely different point of view.

[Suhr] How do you assess the future role of the parties, and also of the CDU, in this state?

[De Maiziere] First, all parties, and this not only concerns the CDU but also the other parties, have to reform themselves. As a result of this reform process within the individual parties, they will have to approach each other in a new way and they will have to find out how much they still have in common. [end recording]

New Regulation on Emigrants' Property

AU1911160789 East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 15 Nov 89 p 4

[ADN report: "New Regulation on the Property of Citizens who Have Left the GDR; Release by the Press Office of the Finance Ministry"]

[Text] East Berlin—Yesterday the Press Office of the Finance Ministry presented the following announcement to ADN:

On the basis of a Council of Ministers resolution of 11 November 1989, the finance minister has rescinded Decree No. 2 of 20 August 1958 on the treatment of property of people who left the GDR after 10 June 1953 (Legal Gazette I, No. 57, p 664).

There are to be no state trustees appointed for the property of citizens who leave the GDR and take permanent residence in other states or in Berlin (West).

The citizens themselves are responsible for settling their property affairs in line with the legal regulations of the GDR and for taking the necessary measures for this purpose, such as appointing an authorized property administrator.

State trusteeships, which have already been ordered, remain in existence.

The decree worked out for this purpose envisages that citizens who left the GDR after 31 July 1989 will be given the opportunity to dispose freely of their property. This presupposes that orderly administration is ensured. If the property left behind has been disposed of by state trustees, the revenue can be used in line with currency regulations.

This new regulation does not touch upon the general duties of the state organs to maintain order and security, including the protection of private property.

The corresponding decree will be published shortly in the Legal Gazette.

Founding Appeal of Christian Youth Organization

AU2411172389 East Berlin NEUE ZEIT in German 13 Nov 89 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Appeal at the Founding of the Christian Youth Organization (CDJ)"]

[Text] On Thursday [9 November], an independent youth organization was founded which represents the legitimate interests of young Christians. Its name is "Christian-Democratic Youth" (CDJ). The founding appeal says:

What do we want?

—We want to be a political platform for the interests of young Christians. Close cooperation with church youth groups is a matter of course for us.

—We want to be a movement that is antifascist and oriented toward peace, the establishment of justice, the preservation of creation, as well as solidarity with the two-thirds world.

—We want to work for the creation of truly democratic socialism.

—We want to advocate equal rights of women and men in politics as well. Therefore, we will base our work on a quota regulation.

—We want to be a forum of free, humanistic, and democratic thinking.

—We want to influence our country's legislation in the spirit of the youth and will put up our own candidates via the Christian Democratic Union of Germany [CDU].

—We want to promote the dedication of young Christians to their own projects in our society and in countries of the two-thirds world.

—We want to establish opportunities for meeting with Christian-democratic and Christian youth movements of other countries.

What has to be done?

In order to implement these proposals we need a nationwide organization, which we will establish at the community, kreis, bezirk, and national level.

We call on you:

Write to the contact address mentioned below!

Tell us immediately about your suggestions and proposals so that they can be discussed and implemented comprehensively!

Suggest representatives from your own ranks who will formulate programmatic statements and a statute based on your proposals in preparation for a national congress!

Where do we belong?

We are a CDU youth organization, but we are working independently:

—We elect our leaders ourselves;

—We draw up our own program;

—We set our tasks independent of the CDU;

—We follow the work of the CDU critically and also send representatives to the party's bodies for this purpose.

This is a new start in the interest of the Christian youth!

Berlin, 9 November 1989

Please send Letters to Sven-Olaf Obst, managing national secretary, Otto Nuschke Strasse 59/60, Berlin, 1080; telephone 22 88 408.

Maleuda Says Reunification Idea 'Untimely'

LD1611194389 Cologne Deutschlandfunk Network in German 1900 GMT 16 Nov 89

[Excerpts] The new president of the GDR People's Chamber, Maleuda, regards the considerations concerning a confederation or reunification with the FRG as untimely. Maleuda told the Berlin radio station RIAS that there are more important things to do at present. At the same time Maleuda said that Premier Modrow will announce a series of concrete economic reforms. [passage omitted]

SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] Politburo member Schabowski assumes that free elections in the GDR will take place in a year at the earliest. In an interview with a U.S. television network today, Schabowski said that not only does the SED need time; the new citizens' movements have already stated that they must prepare themselves thoroughly.

Modrow Views FRG Relations, New Government

AU1711214389 Hamburg DPA in German 1845 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Excerpts] East Berlin—In the opinion of the new GDR head of government, Hans Modrow, after the personnel changes in East Berlin and the announced reforms, it is now the FRG's turn. East Berlin has said enough; now the GDR expects the other side to express its views, Modrow said to journalists on Friday evening, when asked to explain his comments on the "contractual relationship" between the two German states. [passage omitted]

In answer to the question of whether the GDR mark will be devalued because of speculation in the West, Modrow said that currency issues will have to be negotiated with the Federal Government. He called the exchange rate of M20 for DM1, which was apparently started in West Berlin, as most wicked speculation which is worse than before 1961, when the Wall was built. Modrow said that the GDR citizens must, nevertheless, know where they squander their money. He appealed to them to behave responsibly. [passage omitted]

Modrow stated that the People's Chamber also agreed to the contents of his government statement in the debate. He called the session of the parliament a "lesson" that was also attentively watched in the country.

Commenting on the members of his government, Modrow said that he had dealt not only with the nomination of the men in his party but had canvassed for the three female members. He did not want to comment on the ministers nominated by the other parties. This is their business, he stated. Modrow said that the implementation of more democracy and closer ties with the people are the main tasks in his future work.

The opening of the Brandenburg Gate, which has been expected by the West for days, will be carefully and calmly considered. A commission, which is to develop an electoral law, is to be established for free elections in the future, he stated. It is up to the parliament to decide when this will happen and when free elections will be held. he does not want to anticipate this.

Democratic Awakening Chairman Visits Bonn

AU1811200089 Hamburg DPA in German 1438 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Text] Bonn—Wolfgang Schnur, chairman of the GDR movement Democratic Awakening [Demokratischer Aufbruch], advocated that free elections be held on 30 September 1990. Schnur, whose group wants to constitute itself as a party from 16 to 17 December in Leipzig, held talks with leading politicians of the Christian Democratic Union [CDU] and the Free Democratic Party [FDP] in Bonn on Friday. In front of journalists, he advocated the establishment of a special fund into which all GDR money that is exchanged at FRG banks is to be paid. In this way, it is planned that these funds will be prevented from flowing back to the GDR without control and from being used for the "sellout" of foodstuffs, textiles, and important industrial products.

In Bonn, Schnur met with Minister of Chancellery Rudolf Seiters (CDU), who will travel to East Berlin for talks on Monday [20 November]. In addition, he was received by FDP politicians Hans-Dietrich Genscher, Wolfgang Mischnick, and Gerhart Baum for an exchange of opinions. In the afternoon, Schnur flew to Munich for a meeting with Christian Social Union Chairman Theo Waigel. Meetings with Johannes Rau, social democratic minister president of Northrhine-Westphalia, and Social Democratic Party of Germany [SPD] politician Juergen Schmude in Cologne are scheduled for Saturday [18 November].

West Berlin Mayor Looks at Cooperation

AU2411101589 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 18-19 Nov 89 p 9

[Report on interview with West Berlin Mayor Walter Momper by Rolf Guenther and Reiner Oschmann: "Walter Momper: 'Settle New Questions Through Dialogue, Contacts, Cooperation ....'"—in Berlin on 16 November]

[Text] The mayor of West Berlin described the great flow of visitors between East and West in the aftermath of the new travel regulations of the GDR not as days of reunification but as days where people from both sides were able to see each other again. The Social Democratic head of government of West Berlin said on the night of 16 November in front of the House of Deputies that the emotion that was released must "now be linked to the feeling of joint responsibility for peace, disarmament, environmental protection, and economic prosperity in both German states." Immediately after his government declaration Walter Momper gave the following interview to Rolf Guenther and Reiner Oschmann in Berlin's Schoeneberg city hall.

NEUES DEUTSCHLAND: Let us start with the current situation: The borders have now been open for just over 1 week. The GDR has opened many checkpoints. Hundreds of thousands of people have visited West Berlin, and a similar flow of people is expected this weekend. How can the Senate and the authorities of your city cope with this flood of people, and what can one do to expand cooperation between the GDR and West Berlin?

Momper: We have already had more than 2 and ½ million visitors, and I must say that the entire city, that is to say all West Berliners, has dealt with the flow of visitors very well, with spontaneity, cordiality, and a readiness to help. Contributions have been made not just by the Berlin Transport Authorities, not just by the police, and not just by those who paid out the welcome money—this was really a huge effort. However, following my talks with Guenter Schabowski and Erhard Krack 3 weeks ago, we initiated all necessary measures and prepared ourselves for this situation. This is why we were able to cope with the situation surprisingly well.

I would like to call on all GDR citizens not to come here in their Trabant and Wartburg cars, but to use public transportation. Otherwise, the new freedom of travel leads to the next traffic tie-up. The traffic situation in our streets is already on the verge of collapse.

Cooperation, which was a product of necessity, is working very well in various fields. Of course we will need it in other spheres as well, because the opening of the borders has changed the world and that means many basic principles of our city's policy here in Berlin are no longer valid.

We also must make plans for public transportation within the city, and we must do it together, because we must coordinate services on both sides. Then there are many questions in which both sides take a joint interest. The environment senator is in contact with the Environment Ministry of the GDR concerning the question of smog regulation, because this involves both sides. Things have gotten under way, and we are continually raising more and more issues in which we must cooperate and which we can coordinate.

NEUES DEUTSCHLAND: What is the effect of the new travel regulations on the resettlers according to your statistics?

Momper: Since 9 November some 8,000 resettlers have arrived from the GDR. Considering the total number of more than 2.5 million visitors, this is very little. Secondly, we know that some of the resettlers who were already here before have gone back. Many have probably done that without making much fuss about it—this is why we do not have exact figures. I think that the freedom of travel has had the obvious effect, namely that many are now saying that the GDR leadership is taking reforms and renewal very seriously, and many want to participate.

NEUES DEUTSCHLAND: The travel regulations have somehow ended an era. Many factors have contributed to this: Progress in international detente, particularly the developments in the GDR, the popular movement, the policy of renewal, but certainly also your efforts to attain good neighborly relations and cooperation. Would you agree with that?

Momper: Yes, I do, after all, the cold war simply was the cold war. It is clear that in those days the West directed many measures also against the GDR. Second come the policy of detente and the efforts for good neighborly relations, because peace can be achieved only through cooperation and not through confrontation. The ostpolitik of Brandt, Bahr, and Scheel has set up an essential pillar for it, as did of course the efforts of the GDR side. In this connection one must say that during the dark days of rearmament, when the East-West climate between the two superpowers became very icy, Helmut Schmidt and subsequently even Chancellor Kohl on the one side, and Erich Honecker on the other side have done a lot to keep the two German states from contributing to this icy atmosphere. This has stimulated the overall process.

Of course it is a success and a result of the democratic movement within the GDR that this objective has been achieved. Yet all this would not have been possible without the policy of detente, without renewal, and the reform movements in the East European states. In this connection one has to say something very openly: The person who started all this is General Secretary Gorbachev, and nobody else. The Hungarians and the Poles followed, and now the GDR has, and together with the GDR, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] also has to a great extent.

NEUES DEUTSCHLAND: I would like to raise the border issue once again, Mr Momper. Last weekend there were some critical situations at the Brandenburg Gate. Even in this question there was sensible cooperation between the individual forces on both sides. Nevertheless, we have the feeling that new fuel has been added to this problem and that there is a situation that is difficult to control. Does this worry you as well?

Momper: The Brandenburg Gate has a high symbolic value for each side, both in the sense of a policy of opening and of a policy of isolation. This symbolic value is a fact, and both sides must find the right approach to it. In addition, the gate has a tremendous symbolic value for the international press. One must also look at it from the American point of view. In America the Brandenburg Gate is the symbol in the center of Germany and in the center of Berlin, which has had the effect that all television stations set up their equipment at the gate so they could report from there. There have been quite a few difficult situations, but our police have acted very sensibly, and the border troops have also dealt with this affair in a laid-back manner. I am glad that the chairman of the Council of Ministers, Mr Modrow, has stated that one must also discuss the opening of the Brandenburg Gate.

NEUES DEUTSCHLAND: I would like to say something else on the subject of borders: Did the recent developments not prove all those right who said that the existence of borders is not the decisive problem, but that the decisive issue is how they can be made easier to pass through once they are recognized?

Momper: The borders must lose their dividing character. Their relative importance changes once information, people, and opinions can travel and move freely from one side to the other. We know, of course, that in the medium term the border will certainly have to lose its importance as a customs border and as a border between two monetary and economic areas that are very different, and that the economic and monetary areas must be protected on both sides. However, this does not have to be in the form of a wall. We must begin to settle the questions that have resulted from opening the borders through dialogue, contacts, cooperation. After all, a great number of tricky monetary questions as well as questions of labor and other laws are linked to this. I want to say quite frankly that, if we want to settle these questions, this cannot be directed against the GDR, but it must happen together with the GDR.

NEUES DEUTSCHLAND: We would like to know more about this. Why do you think that conditions are now better than they were in the fifties?

Momper: Because we are no longer in the cold war era. The measures of both sides are no longer based on confrontation but on cooperation. The events of 9 November gave a great impetus. The fact that, as a result of necessity, we cooperate in all spheres—I have already mentioned police, public transportation, environmental protection—is proof of this. At the Leipzig Fair or during General Secretary Honecker's visit to Bonn it has always been emphasized that we want economic cooperation. Let us get started.

This is now becoming even more urgent, because open borders are raising new questions, and because, from our point of view, it would not make any sense to pursue a policy that might harm the GDR. We expect the same from the other side. We also acknowledge the GDR's will to find simple solutions to problems. The fact that we got 10 new border checkpoints at once is a great achievement, both for us and the citizens of the GDR. Another example is the cooperation in the transportation sector. This proves that not only we, that not only West Berlin leads a normal life as a city with its surroundings based on good neighborly relations, but that conversely, the surrounding areas will also live together with us on the same basis. This will make the mutual process and such regulations possible.

NEUES DEUTSCHLAND: Do you think that the new situation might also cause economic and social problems for West Berlin?

Momper: Yes, I do, but the effects will not be too severe. Our economy has survived the market here in Berlin in which Poles are selling their articles, and up to now it has survived illegal labor. Yet such problems might of course emerge if GDR citizens were to work here. Some 85,000 people do not have a job in this city, which means that there are 85,000 unemployed too many, and the effects are becoming increasingly severe in this respect. Anyway, one must seek regulations that have a long-lasting effect and that help avoid social problems here, such as additional unemployment.

On the other hand, one can of course organize a normal division of labor between the two parts of Berlin or even with the neighborhood, which is of use and of advantage to both sides. Doctors are a case in point in this respect. There is a shortage of doctors on your side, while we have unemployed doctors, most of whom are waiting for special training courses. Why should there not be a kind of exchange? We have to pay them unemployment benefits anyway. One could organize this in a way that the GDR benefits from it in the sense these doctors offer their medical knowledge, that those concerned receive their special training, and that people have useful jobs, and do not just have to hang around.

NEUES DEUTSCHLAND: Mr Momper, you have repeatedly rejected the idea that the Western side should attempt to patronize the GDR. Your statement of "the GDR people" has been favorably received in our country, because it is regarded as proof of the serious nature of your personal efforts to develop good neighborly relations. We would like to take this even one step further by asking the following question: What do you think that West Berlin might be able to contribute toward establishing the common European home?

Momper: One thing is, and I mentioned this before—that we cooperate in many fields, wherever it is of advantage to both sides.

The second major issue is that both West and East Berlin are places of exchange, a role that should even be strengthened—places of exchange between East and West. This already exists today in the economic sphere. Business partners from all CEMA countries come to East Berlin, stay there, because it does not cause any problems in terms of foreign currency, travel, and visa requirements, while the Western business partners do their business in West Berlin. Then they meet on one or the other side. There are also several cooperative deals with the USSR, and the USSR quite frankly says that it likes West Berlin because the city is easily accessible. After all, communication from East Berlin to the East and from West Berlin to the West works very smoothly.

Our industry and our business sector want to make a great contribution to the exchange in the economic sphere. We have a highly specialized production sector, highly specialized know-how, which is indispensable if you want to modernize production in your country. In wide spheres this involves relatively simple technological improvements, which are not available in your country, and which could be made available relatively easily in the West, which would entail great progress in productivity, and so on.... This is the contribution that West Berlin's industry could make with its small, specialized and flexible enterprises, with enterprises that have so far had little chance to show their products at the Leipzig Fair, that have not had the opportunity to establish themselves on the GDR market, and which must now be brought closer.

The trade sector wants to make a similar contribution. It can make a valuable contribution, particularly in cooperation with small enterprises, with private enterprises, or production cooperatives of the trade sector.

Looking at the developments of the past 3 or 4 years, there is another sphere that has become increasingly interesting, namely Berlin as a place of cultural exchange. On the basis of the freedom of travel this applies even more for both sides of Berlin. Exhibitions; the participation in film festivals, theater festivals which has brought the GDR to West Berlin; the great Heisig exhibition; or even the Soviet or Polish participation in the film festival and other festivals, all this is very exciting for people in the West. It will become even more exciting as the more interesting the cultural life in the GDR or in the USSR becomes, the greater the progress of renewal and reform will be. The Soviet experience has shown that such developments release great forces. From the play "Lohndruecker" ["The Sweatshop Owner"] we also know how interesting and exciting the discussions were in the GDR even before 18 October.

The third sphere is scientific-technological cooperation between universities. Many projects have already been prepared with Leipzig University in the field of equipment production, for example, and so on. All this can be intensified, even between universities in Berlin. All this is part of cooperation and exchange that is of advantage for all participants. Still, there are two participants that benefit from it in a special way: the two parts of the city, and the GDR as a whole.

NEUES DEUTSCHLAND: You are indicating new possibilities of cooperation between Berlin (West) and the GDR, which will result from the new developments. Will you discuss these possibilities in your upcoming talks with Prime Minister Modrow?

Momper: Certainly. These are problems where we should in particular also work out concrete proposals. In this respect, both sides continue their predecessors' policy; these matters were started earlier. Fortunately, we are not starting from scratch. But I think that we can do much more. Reform and renewal in the GDR on the one hand, and freedom of travel on the other, represent a major driving force which has an incredible accelerating effect.

That also holds true for tourism. I have always said that travel must not be one-sided. Now that the people from the GDR and East Berlin can come to us, we must also see to it that the surroundings will be visited much more than has been the case in the past. That would be quite easily possible with a multiple travel permit. The minimum exchange rate is an obstacle—regarding the costs and regarding the GDR's tourism possibilities. We must talk about that. There have been talks, plans, and intentions regarding the possibility of jointly building tourist facilities which would benefit the people of the GDR as well as our people, because the natural recreation areas for the people of Berlin, including West Berliners, are not the Harz Mountains, the Lueneburg Heath, or the Franconian Forest, but the immediate vicinity—the Oder Marsh and Spreewald. It would be important to make things easier in this respect. It would also be important for the GDR's foreign exchange balance, because travel to these regions would in any case mean that the GDR would get foreign exchange, so that the GDR would find it easier to allow its citizens to travel and to equip them with more hard currency.

NEUES DEUTSCHLAND: Is there currently a regular—possibly even daily—contact between you and city hall in the GDR capital?

Momper: Such contact exists on the level of commissioners who are in charge of visitors' travel and who handle day-to-day business, so to speak. I personally have good contacts with the SED Central Committee on the basis of party contacts, and that has proved relatively successful, despite everything. In addition, Professor Schroeder, the chief of the Senate Chancellery, has good contacts with the State Council Chairman's Chancellery, and on the basis of our cooperation, we personally have now quite good contacts with Mr Schabowski and Mr Krack. We conduct telephone conversations almost every day. For the moment, it is difficult because the telephone system is totally overloaded.

NEUES DEUTSCHLAND: Another word on party contacts. Do you see in the near or more distant future new opportunities, new fields of cooperation and dialogue between the Social Democratic Party [SPD] and the SED?

Momper: The opening of additional border crossings was already mentioned in an SED party document of January 1989. Viewed from this angle, our contacts which have continued over 8 or 9 years have been worthwhile—also regarding practical matters. The main starting point has been the policy of disarmament and detente. This should be continued, and our interest is unchanged. The process of renewal and reform in the GDR will substantially push the process of disarmament and detente, in particular the Vienna negotiations. I think we can certainly say so. We will have a great opportunity in the area of disarmament and detente, and we must use it, particularly we Germans, but also Europeans on the whole. Therefore, our interest in cooperation in this area is unchanged.

Regarding other matters, too, we continue to be ready for cooperation and exchange. We maintain equal contacts with all political forces in other countries. Of course, the Social Democrats are closer to us than any other party; however, one can continue the common policy in areas of common views and common interests. We should do so with the SED as well. By the way, the SED no longer is what it was before. There may also be new points of contact which may make a changed SED possibly even more interesting for the SPD.

NEUES DEUTSCHLAND: In your government statement to the Chamber of Deputies earlier today, you viewed the new freedom of travel in a major political context. You said that when borders lose their dividing character this will help keep peace. What opportunities do you see for West Berlin to give an impetus to more security and stability in Europe and the world?

Momper: We plan to use this thrust which results from the changes in the GDR for disarmament policy in general, in the domestic policy discussion in the Federal Republic. There are some topics which have already played a major role and on which the SED and SPD agree: nuclear-free zones, the comparison of the military doctrines, the structural incapacity to attack, a European peace order, and the fact that security can only be had jointly and not antagonistically. These matters must be promoted.

In the domestic policy discussion, it amounts to somewhat more simplistic questions such as "Fighter 90—yes or no," one of the Federal Republic's large arms projects.

Of course, the discussion will also deal with the reduction of conventional troops. In this respect, NATO has meanwhile submitted proposals which largely meet General Secretary Gorbachev's earlier proposals. As far as I know, the Vienna negotiations are in a continuing process.

What we as people of Berlin are interested in is also the continuation of postwar conditions in Europe, the very practical questions which must be settled between the two German states and which concern West Berlin or both parts of Berlin. I think that in parallel with the negotiations or the planned exploratory talks between the four powers on Berlin air traffic problems, the two German states should also hold exploratory talks and then negotiations on German-German air traffic problems and on the beginning of a German-German air traffic agreement.

In doing so, it should also be considered whether and to what extent Schoenefeld could be used for West Berlin purposes—which would be in the GDR's interest—and to what extent cooperation or regular competition could be created between both. The GDR has an interest in bringing Schoenefeld more into play; on the other hand, we would have an interest in relieving Tegel somewhat, and we would also have an interest in making it possible for people to fly to all directions from both Berlin airports. Of course, that always means for us that the corridor traffic to and from West Berlin must continue to be viable and must remain legally untouched, because that is not within our competence but, as before, within that of the four powers.

DER MORGEN Interviews West Berlin Mayor

LD1711021389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0056 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR people have "gone into the streets for their rights and for democracy and there they have found themselves again as a people. Namely by the simple fact that through the process of democratization and winning reforms in your country the GDR people have also created a new identity for themselves which—I leave it open as to whether there was one there before or not—is indeed an event that took place there." Governing Mayor of West Berlin Walter Momper made this assessment in an interview with the LDPD [Liberal Democratic Party of Germany] newspaper DER MORGEN today. On differences of opinion between himself and Federal Chancellor Kohl, the politician stressed that the GDR people are developing a dynamism "which some people in the West could do with imitating."

Momper considers the discussion about questions of citizenship as pretty academic. He does not believe that it will help the GDR in the least if changes on this take place in the Federal Republic. "The motivation to see a future in their own country will not take place through changes in the Basic Law. It has to originate in the GDR itself."

The governing mayor stated that the registration office in Salzgitter has "in our opinion no function any more. It is a superfluous relic of the cold war. Therefore, Berlin (West) has stopped its share of the co-financing of this office for next year. The question of the Elbe border could have been settled in harmony a long time ago if the Federal Land of Lower Saxony and the Federal Government had not balked at it for so long."

In reply to a relevant question from the newspaper, Walter Momper stated that he does not consider it realistic that the Republicans can have an effect on the GDR working from the West. "Simply because the citizens of the GDR are, in my opinion, much too self-confident to allow something like this to be imposed on them."

The new GDR Government is a first-response partner for the West Berlin Senate. "But also all other political and social groups. Our principle in relation to other states is: We wish to talk to all contacts." Among them is also the newly formed Social Democratic Party in the GDR whose members have to decide for themselves on the mode of their relations with the SPD [Socialist Party of Germany].

Momper admitted the concerns of his city. "We have a housing shortage, unemployment—over 85,000 unemployed people is a social problem in itself. Many Berliners have no apartments. Over 20,000 people who came to us as resettlers or immigrants are living in camps or in homes, i.e. under conditions that are similar to those in camps. It is first a problem to cope with the influx, the many visitors now. The Federal Government pays for the welcome money. So that is not our financial burden. By the way, last weekend more than dm 200 million was paid out. Additional costs which we have incurred we haven't even calculated yet, for example the BVG [Berlin Traffic Association] has a higher succession of trains. But this expenditure has to be offset within the framework of the budget. I think that this is possible."

On the other hand it has been clearly said that the Federal Government has to help, for example with building homes and also with services, that enable us to cope with 2 million visitors this weekend.

Easier Travel for West Berliners Considered

AU1711205289 Hamburg DPA in German 1722 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin—Hans-Joachim Willerding, candidate member of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Politburo, who is responsible for foreign policy, has held out the prospect of easier travel for West Berliners. The SED Central Committee has recommended to the responsible government agencies to start negotiations on travel and tourism, Willerding said on Friday in an interview for the Social Democratic Party of Germany paper BERLINER STIMME published in West Berlin.

According to Willerding, negotiations on the commercial exchange of newspapers and magazines between the GDR and the FRG are also recommended. The SED politician explained that he would be happy if relations between the GDR and West Berlin were to develop "in a way that could serve as an example for the relations between the GDR and the FRG."

FRG, GDR Red Cross Societies Negotiate

LD1711203289 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1449 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—As a result of the negotiations conducted in Bonn between representatives of the Red Cross Societies of the two German states, the DRK [German Red Cross] of the GDR told ADN that, increasingly ,former GDR citizens are reporting to branches of the German Red Cross in the FRG asking for support in returning to the GDR. All the DRK's facilities in the FRG are available to provide information for those wanting to return. Those wanting to return are being looked after by these Red Cross establishments and informed of the most favorable ways of returning home. At the frontier crossing points with the GDR as well as the DRK care centers of Gera, Erfurt, Magedeburg, and Schwerin Bezirke helpers of the GDR Red Cross organization have been deployed. They are being supported by other social forces. In particular the care centers are looking after those citizens who for various reasons cannot return immediately to their home town or another place of their choice. Reportedly a growing flow of former GDR citizens who return either individually or with their families is expected. The DRK in the FRG is also considering taking back larger groups in buses. Return trips currently being observed are taking place exclusively on an individual basis by car or train.

Trade Relations With Panama Discussed

AU2711215189 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 18-19 Nov 89 p 2

[Text] The develoment of mutual trade as well as cooperation relations between the GDR and the Republic of Panama were discussed in Berlin on Friday [17 November]. Panama's government delgation was headed by Gustavo Gonzalez, minister of planning and ecocnomic policy, and Elmo Martinez Blanco, minister of commerce and industries.

Referendum Commentary, Results Announced

4-Party Coalition Claims Victory

LD2711173389 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1500 GMT 27 Nov 89

[Text] [Announcer] Attila Miklos Nemeth reports from the international news conference by Imre Pozsgay, which deals with the popular referendum:

[Nemeth] There are more yeas than nays given in reply to the first question of the popular referendum, although the result is not yet official. It was this that Minister of State Imre Pozsgay described as probable at a news conference which ended a few minutes ago. Although the difference is numerically minimal, that does not change the essence. The popular referendum, while it had delivered a setback to the construction of the [word indistinct] institutions and had made the road to the political stabilization more bumpy, did nevertheless further the holding of free elections.

People can become aware of the extent to which they can influence their own fate via their own decisions. It is an enormous achievement, the minister of state said, that the parties can free themselves from their mental complex, according to which a kind of communist [power] salvaging is taking place. In reply to a question, Imre Pozsgay said that as presidential candidate he would await the legal interpretation of the result of the popular referendum and would act in accordance with that.

[Announcer] My colleague, Peter Marvanyi, has obtained fresh—but I emphasize unofficial—data about the referendum from the four parties which called for it.

[Marvanyi] In the absence of official data I report what I have learned from the electoral observers of the Alliance of Free Democrats [Sz DSz] a few minutes ago. Thus, According to this, 99.7 percent of the votes have been counted and authenticated and at the moment the number of ayes relating to the presidential elections is 7,000 larger than the number of nays.

Even before the end result, i.e., the announcement of the official result, the four-party coalition declared victory at their news conference this morning. For, they said, the large majority of the eligible voters voted—despite the call for a boycott—and the number of ayes to three questions is over 90 percent.

Relating to the presidential election, the SZDSZ, with the agreement of the other three parties, the FIDESZ [Federation of Young Democrats], the Smallholders Party, and the Social Democratic Party, has made a compromise proposal. The presidential election should be held after the parliamentary elections—in accordance with the original question in the popular referendum—but it should be a direct one, in accordance with the supplement added by the National Assembly. For this the present National Assembly could modify the appropriate clause of the Constitution.

Pozsgay Comments on Referendum

LD2711210189 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 27 Nov 89

[Text] The SZDSZ [Alliance of Free Democrats] has gathered the number of signatures needed for a popular referendum, and has also sent the replies; four ayes. The Parliament, at the initiative of citizens, had announced a popular referendum. The MDF [Hungarian Democratic Forum] called on us to boycott it, the MSZP [Hungarian Socialist Party] asked us to reply to the first question with a nay, whereas the large majority, i.e. 53 percent of the citizens, did go to vote, despite the political tactics or because of it. Imre Pozsgay, minister of state, gave you an account of the parliamentary results—though not the official end result. Attila Miklos Nemeth was present at his news conference.

[Nemeth] There was still no official result for the popular referendum at 1500 hours when Imre Pozsgay, minister of state, said there were probably more ayes than nays in respect of the presidential election. He accepted this as a fact even if the difference was minimal, he said. It was in accordance with this that he evaluated the result at the international press conference for which almost 100 journalists crowded into the Culture Hall of the Council of Ministers building.

[Begin Pozsgay recording] Although the initiators were various parties, I now say nonetheless that the voting was not done for or against parties. Visibly, the election took place alongside great absenteeism, but, at the same time, the electoral participation was undoubtedly of such proportion that it makes the result of the popular referendum credible. The large-scale absenteeism could be the stand of those who believed that the election had no stake, whereas those participating related to the first question, primarily, in two ways.

If we take into account the large measure of uniformity, the special significance of the first occasion, and the fact that disturbing moments occurred even in the last days of the campaign, then the close result, in which the number of nays has jumped so high, must be evaluated as surprisingly large scale. [end recording]

[Nemeth] Then the minister of state spoke about the advantages and disadvantages of popular referenda in terms of domestic politics.

[Begin Pozsgay recording] It could perhaps be a disadvantage that the construction of solid institutions will be delayed as a result; the road to political stability of the country could become more bumpy than we originally expected. Before all else, a process of practice for free elections has begun, one in which—after long years—the citizens were able to gain direct experience about the great measure of freedom with which they can shape their own decisions and attitudes. I also say that it would be an advantage as well if the initiating parties free themselves from the mental complex that here there was some kind of communist power salvaging action.

While in the towns of East and central Europe hundreds of thousands express their wishes in the form of street riots and protests, Hungary has expressed its political intentions peacefully through the ballot box.

[Nemeth] Is MDF the loser of the political battle?

[Pozsgay] I do not think that the Hungarian Democratic Forum is the loser, because even for its single boycott call, more than 40 percent responded by staying away. What is certain, however, is that the MSZP is not a loser in this election, because obviously even the challengers, the initiators, were surprised by the number of nays in such great proportion regarding the first question.

[Nemeth] In the West, the fact that you are the candidate of both Washington and Moscow had great resonance. However, it was also suggested, a foreign colleague conveyed, that if the nay loses at the popular referendum, you will never be a president.

[Pozsgay] I was not president when I succeeded in forcing the reassessment of 1956, when I succeeded in destroying the party state and eliminating the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party. My fantasy is rotating round in the future too, around something like this, and therefore I can even envisage that the presidency will be entrusted to me so that I should do similar things even more successfully. [end recording]

[Nemeth] Imre Pozsgay announced that he will wait for the legal evaluation of the result of the popular referendum and will decide about the campaign in accordance with that. However, he still considers himself the candidate of the MSZP. He also said that he did not wish the role of a representative president; this function is foreign to his personality and activity.

Imre Pozsgay heard here, at the news conference, about the initiative of the four-party coalition, according to which it should still be the people who elect the president directly, but only after the general elections. The minister of state welcomed this initiative.

Results Announced

LD2711222489 Budapest MTI in English
2128 GMT 27 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, November 27 (MTI)—According to the Monday night communique from the National Electoral Board, 58 percent of Hungary's electorate turned out for the referendum.

The preliminary result of the votes is as follows, going question by question:

1. 'Should the presidential elections be held only after the parliamentary elections?' Of the valid 4,297,454 votes, 2,152,036 said 'yes' (this equals 50.1 percent), while there were 2,145,418 'no' replies (49.9 percent). The percentage of invalid answers was 3.1 percent.

2. 'Should party organizations leave places of employment?' Of the valid 4,310,722 votes, 'yeses' numbered 4,101,650 (95.1 percent), and 'nos' 209.072 (4.9 percent). The percentage of invalid answers was 2.9.

3. 'Should the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] give an account of the assets in its ownership or trust?' Of the valid 4,314,261 votes, 4,114,683 (95.4 percent) were in the affirmative, and 199,578 (4.6 percent) in the negative. 2.9 percent of the votes were not valid.

4. 'Should the Workers' Militia be disbanded?' Of the valid 4,285,315 votes, 'yes' answers were given by 4,068,093 voters (94.9 percent), and 'no' answers 217,222 (5.1 percent). 3.3 percent of the votes were invalid.

Checking the returns from the 11,007 wards started on Monday.

In the course of this examination, the board had to carry out a legal review of a higher number of returns than expected.

The official results of the referendum are to be made public after this is done, probably on Tuesday.

Istvan Fodor, acting speaker of the National Assembly, had the following to tell MTI:

The parliamentary session beginning on December 18 should in any case pass a decision on the dissolution of the National Assembly.

Gyorgy Banffy, MP, tabled a motion to this effect at the November session. The representatives of the Legal, Administrational and Justice Committee and the political groups also maintain that the question should be put on the agenda after the referendum.

As a member of Parliament myself, it seems unavoidable to me that the National Assembly should dissolve itself at the December session.

After this is done, the president of the Republic would be responsible for calling parliamentary elections in five days at the latest.

March 18th, 1990, seems to me the best date for the elections.

Further Reportage on FRG Genscher's Visit

Meets With Leaders

LD2411211789 Budapest MTI in English
1415 GMT 24 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, November 24 (MTI)—During the meeting between Rezso Nyers, president of the HSP [Hungarian Socialist Party], and Hans-Dietrich Genscher, foreign minister of the Federal Republic of Germany, Herr Genscher expressed his country's appreciation of the political changes being witnessed in Hungary.

Mr Nyers passed on Hungary's gratitude for the fact that the FRG had supported Hungary's cause in the EEC and the G24 [Group of Twenty-four].

Mr Nyers also emphasized that all this will prove to be a good investment for the FRG, although it will probably take about two or three years before an upward trend in Hungary's economy occurs.

In Mr Nyer's view, there is no longer the danger in Hungary of a domestic political crisis threatening to become explosive. At present, the most important task is to make the economy function under the conditions of the multi-party system, which, although already in existence, does not yet operate in Parliament.

Herr Genscher spoke about the FRG's intention of pressing within the G24 for the acceleration of establishing contacts, and of getting the International Monetary Fund to take decisions not merely from a financial point of view, but with a view to the politico-social changes taking place in Eastern Europe.

Matyas Szuros, interim president of the Republic of Hungary, met the FRG foreign minister in the Munkacsy Hall of parliament. Also present was Foreign Minister Gyula Horn.

Following, Georg Krupp, and Ekkehard Storck, and Ferenc Bartha signed a credit agreement between the Deutsche Bank AG Frankfurt and the Deutsche Bank Luxemburg SA and the National Bank of Hungary. The agreement ensures 500 million DM for Hungarian economic restructuring.

The foreign ministers held an international press conference in Hotel Hilton in Budapest. In his introductory statement, Mr Horn stressed that there is regular dialogue between Hungary and the FRG. The FRG is the most important western trade partner of Hungary, he said.

With regard to the recent inter-bank agreement, Mr Horn said the two governments were seeking new economic cooperation forms, to complement the existing several hundred cooperation agreements. Hungarian conceptions include joint projects, and the employment of Hungarian workers in the FRG. The opening of chief consulates in Munich and Pecs will be a major stage of relations, as will the setting up of a Hungarian Cultural Institute in Stuttgart, an institute similar to the Goethe Institute of Budapest.

Discussing the German issue, Mr Horn stressed that Europe cannot exist without German politics and culture, just as the Germans cannot exist without Europe. The relation of the two German states, including a possible unification, is a matter for the German people. However, they should take the generally accepted international norms, as well as the European realities into consideration.

The development of the relation between the two German states is an integral part of the development of European relations. It is difficult to imagine a unified Europe in which a divided Germany exists, said Hungarian Foreign Minister Gyula Horn.

Hans-Deitrich Genscher reported that, besides bilateral relations, he discussed the relation between Hungary and the Common Market, the reform processes taking place in the central and East European countries, the state of East-West dialogue, and the processes taking place in Hungary, with all his negotiating partners. He said there was full agreement that the reform processes should be realized under stability. He stressed it was the interest of West Europe for the current reforms to be successful, for democracy to prevail in the countries of central and Eastern Europe, and for people to enjoy greater freedom. Mr Genscher said the FRG is aware of the difficulties of the transitory period, and does not wish to acquire unilateral advantages.

In answer to questions, Mr Genscher said the EEC faces major changes, but the strengthening of integration increases the possibilities for cooperation. Major and definite decisions are expected to be made at the conference of the Group of 24, mainly on setting up a European bank. Mr Genscher stressed it is not sufficient for some of the countries that sympathize with the reform processes to merely express their support in principle. Practical assistance is required, he said.

Answering a question, Mr Horn said that conversation of the debt stock that prevents the Hungarian economic restructuring plans could be realized by reducing the interest, and the purchase of shares of certain Hungarian plants by foreigners.

Mr Horn pointed out that the idea of withdrawing from the Warsaw Treaty was not mentioned at his talks with French Foreign Minister Dumas, and Mr Delors, who represented the EEC, in return for Hungary's joining the EEC. With respect to the Soviet-American summit scheduled for early December, both foreign ministers stated they expect a positive result from the meeting.

In answer to a question on the processes taking place in the Soviet Union, Mr Genscher said the conclusion cannot be drawn from internal debate that the situation of the Soviet Union had weakened. It is in the interest of Bonn for Gorbachev's policy—which Mr Genscher considers wide-ranging—to be successful.

Meets Party Delegations, Departs

LD2411220189 Budapest MTI in English 2109 GMT 24 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, November 24 (MTI)—Hans-Dietrich Genscher hosted a lunch in the Budapest embassy of the FRG for representatives of the Alliance of Free Democrats (SZDSZ). Following, Mr Genscher held separate meetings with delegations of the Independent Smallholders' Party and the Social Democratic Party of Hungary.

In the afternoon, Mr Genscher visited the Budapest Historical Museum, and saw the exhibition of works by residents of the Wobswede artists' colony near Bremen.

The FRG delegation then visited the parish in Zugliget in Budapest, the venue of the first camp for GDR refugees. Recalling the assistance provided to people wishing to resettle in the FRG, Mr Genscher presented the FRG Service Cross to Priest Imre Kozma. The award was decided on by FRG President Richard Von Weizsacker.

At the Budapest Embassy of the FRG, Mr Genscher presented the first order of the service merit cross to Andras Kovacs, refugee commissioner of the Hungarian Red Cross, in recognition of his work in the Csilleberc camp of Budapest. Following the ceremony, and a meeting with the employees of the FRG Embassy, Mr Genscher held separate meetings with the delegations of the Christian Democratic People's Party and the Hungarian People's Party.

The FRG foreign minister and his party left Budapest in the evening.

500-Million DM Loan Agreement Signed With FRG

LD2411153189 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 24 Nov 89

[Excerpts] In the Parliament, a DM500-million credit agreement is being signed by representatives of our homeland and the FRG. Peter Zentai reports:

[Begin Zentai recording] One minute ago, our national economy became richer by half a billion marks. The representatives of the consortium led by the largest FRG bank, the Deutsche Bank, and the Hungarian National Bank have just signed a credit agreement, which is extremely favorable for us, in the presence of Genscher and Horn, FRG and Hungarian foreign ministers, respectively. The Bonn government is undertaking a guarantee for the whole amount. [passage omitted] In practice, however—and I add this myself—this is a special loan which the Hungarian side can use freely; the creditors have no say in this. [end recording]

Pozsgay Interviewed on Hungarians in Romania

AU2311090789 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 17 Nov 89 pp 1, 8

[Interview with Minister of State Imre Pozsgay by "E.A.": "Universal Norms Against Barbarism—Imre Pozsgay Interviewed on the Hungarians in Transylvania and Laszlo Tokes"—date and place not given]

[Text] The issue of Hungarians in Transylvania was one of the most frequently raised subjects during Imre Pozsgay's trip to Western Europe, North America, and Finland. The events that have taken place since then also justify our asking Imre Pozsgay about the way in which the first tangible signs of the renewed Hungarian national minority policy were received abroad.

[Pozsgay] I could tell everyone who is following the first steps of the Hungarian Republic with expectant hope and goodwill that we are not violating any law when we remind people of certain basic principles and elementary common sense. On the contrary: We are defending rights, traditions, and our future life, and we are placing universal moral norms against the anachronistic barbarism of the end of the century. It is true that many people congratulated us with goodwill for displaying our firmness, but I had to reject this because we have not yet done everything possible, and improvement and the calm and security of democracy in this area do not depend on us alone. The oft-mentioned common problem in the Danube area is not our burden alone. Hatred continues to burn, and unimaginable tragedies are taking place in civilized communities in our immediate vicinity....

Consternation

[Question] In our immediate vicinity, by our southeastern neighbor...

[Pozsgay, interrupting] During my talks, official negotiations, and personal exchanges of views, an increasing number of people expressed their consternation and concern over what is happening in Romania and with the Hungarians in Transylvania. In the wake of the precise information pouring in about the fate of Temesvar Presbyterian priest Laszlo Tokes, there is general consternation and concern. However, as I have noticed, there are people who are doing their utmost to belittle the importance of these facts. I myself found it difficult to believe the news about him here and later in America. My concern did not diminish when I read Laszlo Tokes' open letter, in which he also expressed his hopes in connection with the creation of the National and Ethnical Minority College. I also say this on behalf of my colleagues: We will do everything to fulfill Laszlo Tokes' expectations and to be worthy of the confidence of several millions of national minorities—Hungarians and non-Hungarians alike.

[Question] I think it is increasingly obvious that we are no longer talking here about the fate of a single person or of a single national minority!

[Pozsgay] The national minority issues, including the issue of the Hungarians in Transylvania—the largest such community in Europe—is not merely a "Hungarian affair." We are talking here about the key issue of a divided Europe desiring to reunify. Apart from this, I also regard Laszlo Tokes' heroism as symbolic, as a sad, forced, but real symbol of the true content of the power of a sense of moral justice, the rejection of fear, and responsibility for the nation. Therefore, it is not by accident that I also followed with attention the events in Temesvar, Marosvasarhely, and other places during my trips abroad. I only had the opportunity to receive precise information after my return, and I will repeat my consternation at the unjust and humiliating events that have taken place in recent days.

After hearing the news about Laszlo Tokes' eviction and his symbolic occupation of his church, I did not realize that he had stood alone in the pulpit, because his father and niece had been arrested on the very day that I had met with his brother Istvan in Montreal. His father, the former deputy bishop Istvan Tokes, could not reach Temesvar to give a festive sermon on the anniversary of reformation, and thus his son's words became even more expressive. The father was banned from reaching Temesvar under the pretext that his son was not living in Temesvar, and the authorities accused the old professor of theology of traveling to Temesvar in order to sell coffee. He could not go the church even after being sent back to Kolozsvar; instead, he was harassed by police. I was shocked when I learned all of this after my return. Just as his brother in Canada, who is following the events with great concern, is appealing to the conscience of the better half of the world, I also find it necessary to again raise my voice and repeatedly confirm the position taken by the college on 11 October, in which we took a stand in support of Laszlo Tokes.

Intimidation

[Question] In the meantime, various public organizations in Hungary proposed Laszlo Tokes and Mrs Doina Cornea for the Nobel peace price. What is your opinion on this?

[Pozsgay] I agree with this proposal and I support it. Laszlo Tokes and Doina Cornea do not act because they have been personally offended. Their stand in favor of general human rights, including national minority rights, is not their personal affair but is the affair of their community, of the majority of the Romanian people and of the Hungarian people, of all of Europe. We know that antinational minority nationalism at the level of state policy is what really threatens stability in Europe, and not the struggle of national minorities for their mere survival. In my view, both of these peoples' human rights activity and Laszlo Tokes' very practical deed are worthy of appreciation, and their moral justice will be permanent.

I also condemned the terrorist attack carried out against Laszlo Tokes and his family on 2 November, and I am not alone in regarding this as a terrorist attack. Even if I do not know all of the details, I do know that the whole arsenal of psychodramatic threatening measures has been activated in many places, and this also affects people who chose different roads from the one chosen by Laszlo Tokes in order to represent their communities. I raise my voice on their behalf, too, and even if I do not believe every rumor, the facts make me consider these things thoroughly. I very much hope that the fears concerning Andrsa Suto [Hungarian writer in Romania] will not prove to be true.

Question of Honor

[Question] Will the emerging international solidarity have any effect?

[Pozsgay] I regard it as a vital question and a question of honor that this solidarity should have an effect! I am happy to see the ever increasing effects of Laszlo Tokes' determination, because I consider the right to preserve one's national and ethnical identity and the defense of this right to be one of the fateful moments of the Hungarian democracy. This is proof that heads are held erect and there are straight backs everywhere, particularly in Transylvania, where the wall of silence has been pierced. The letter of the seventeen Hungarian intellectuals is also eloquent proof of this. However, true solidarity here, in Hungary, should not be measured in words, and the results will judge those who act.

Romania Demands Extradition of Sheep Rustlers

LD2711181289 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 27 Nov 89

[Text] Romania's Supreme State Prosecutor is asking Hungary to extradite Romanian citizens. Some time ago we reported that four Romanian citizens fled to Hungary at the beginning of the month, together with a flock of sheep. In Romania they are being accused of having stolen the majority of the sheep. Since on the basis of the legal aid agreement in force between the two countries, the thieves must be extradited, the metropolitan Supreme State Prosecutor's Office has proposed to the metropolitan court that it order the arrest of the Romanian refugees. If this happens, then the justice minister will decide whether to extradite the four Romanian citizens to Romania. They are at present in the Bekescsaba refugee camp.

Soviet Friendship Society Chief Resigns

LD2411154589 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 24 Nov 89

[Excerpt] Antal Apro has resigned from his post as chairman of the Hungarian-Soviet Friendship Society. He gave as reasons for this his age and health. His letter was read out at the session of the society's Presidium. Julia Tardos reports:

[Begin Tardos] If the Hungarian-Soviet Friendship Society is not capable of fundamentally changing and renewing itself, then there is no reality for its future functioning. Up to now, the society has conducted almost exclusively protocol activities, and with this, to put it mildly, it did not serve the cause of Hungarian-Soviet friendship. With the drastic reduction of state supports, however, the budget cannot maintain a swollen, powerless organization. So, there is no other way out; the society must create its own revenues from ventures, otherwise the Hungarian-Soviet Friendship Society will simply die.

At the same time, in the democratic, multi-party system Hungarian Republic, according to General Secretary Gyula Biro, the society will have a role, without being the servant of any one political will. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Horn Interviewed on Return From Strasbourg

AU2311094889 Budapest MTI in English 0832 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, 21 Nov (MTI)—'The western community highly appreciates and is prepared to support Hungary's pathbreaking role commitment to changes but does not want to interfere with its internal affairs,' Gyula Horn, Hungarian foreign minister, summed up his latest impressions in the Tuesday issue of "NEPSZABADSAG". Last week it was Mr Horn who handed over Hungary's application for the Council of Europe in Strasbourg.

On the impressions gained in the session of the Council's Committee of Foreign Ministers, Mr Horn said:

'I experienced not only polite interest. The foreign ministers stated that Hungary was playing a pathbreaking role in establishing a law-governed state, and appreciated that the changes had been initiated by the ruling party. Our independent foreign policy steps, first of all the decision on the GDR citizens, were particularly recognized. They said that their appreciation was not a kind of "honorarium". It is a vital interest of the West that the processes of civilization take place in Eastern Central Europe. I did not experience any intention on the side of the West to interfere in any form with Hungary's internal affairs.'

On the weekend talks in Budapest of French Foreign Minister Roland Dumas, acting president of the Council of the European Communities, and Jacques Delors, European commission president, Mr Horn said:

'They highly appreciated that in the current schemes of sweeping transformation the Hungarian Government was not motivated by any election tactics... Over the past weeks, we have held discussions on the possibilities of economic cooperation with all European countries, the United States, Canada, the Republic of Korea and other states. We experienced that all partners were prepared for cooperation. We made it clear for all of them that we did not ask for aid but wished to cooperate in the interest of the greatest possible liberalization of our foreign economic relations. The G-24 is a partner in this effort... These countries are prepared to advance cooperation with investment funds and loans, and let the Hungarian goods in their markets more rapidly than the Hungarian imports are liberalized.'

Asked about the approach of the two great powers, Mr Horn said:

'The United States provides maximum support while the Soviet Union holds that what is taking place in Eastern Europe is the internal affair of the countries concerned.'

TV Trustees Control Board Prompts Resignations

President Berecky Resigns

LD2711222789 Budapest MTI in English 2118 GMT 27 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, November 27 (MTI)—Gyula Berecky, president of Hungarian Television, announced his resignation on Monday night's television news.

His decision stemmed from the setting up of a 15-member board of trustees with control over radio and television. The coming into being of this board, which includes members of various parties and social organizations, has intensified party struggles and paralyzed the activity of Hungarian Television.

In the course of the past few months, the TV has been the target of several attacks, both external and internal. Hungarian Television's leadership has been accused of passing a number of organizational measures which have frustrated creative efforts.

Program Director Resigns

LD2411142389 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 23 Nov 89

[Excerpts] Istvan Vissinger, program director of TV1, has resigned. He justified his decision, with these words in tonight's newsreel:

[Begin Vissinger recording] [Passage omitted] I also experience in the day-to-day work that the leadership of the television, despite considerable efforts, cannot maintain the equal distance—so indispensible in the present political situation—from the parties, organizations, and persons fighting for the direction of the country and for the possession of the institution.

Our financial and social conditions, compared to our tasks, are catastrophic. It is impossible to change this by a committee elected for a few months. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Further on Mazowiecki's Soviet Visit

Communique on Visit

LD2711172689 Warsaw PAP in English 1510 GMT 25 Nov 89

["Polish-Soviet Communique (Excerpts)"—PAP headline]

[Text] Moscow, Nov. 27—Poland's Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki paid an official visit to the Soviet Union at the invitation of the Soviet Government between November 23-27.

CPSU CC general secretary, Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR Mikhail Gorbachev received Tadeusz Mazowiecki and held talks with him.

Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR Nikolay Ryzhkov and Tadeusz Mazowiecki held detailed talks during which both sides briefed each other on the processes taking place in both countries, discussed a broad spectrum of Polish-Soviet relations and exchanged views on key international issues.

Discussing the situation in Poland, Mazowiecki stressed that his government represented the most important social circles and a broad coalition of political forces in Poland's pluralistic society. He stated that Poland is currently carrying out deep political, social, and economic reforms. There is a striving to heal the financial system of the state and introduce a market economy. In the context of these changes, the Polish side attaches big importance to the development of comprehensive cooperation with the Soviet Union, particularly in the economic field which will be conducive to overcoming the difficulties occurring in Poland.

Mazowiecki stressed that the new political situation in Poland and the broad social support for the government pose a real chance of basing Polish-Soviet relations on a broad social basis.

Ryzhkov stated that the Soviet Union supported the efforts of the Polish Government to make Poland an economically strong and democratic state.

Issues of Polish-Soviet relations based on authentic, broad social base and their continuity ranked in the forefront of the talks. Poland and the Soviet Union intend to resolutely continue developing their allied relations on the principles of mutual confidence, respect of the freedom to choose the road of socio-political development, full equal-rights and non-interference into internal affairs. They are ready to contribute to the development of good-neighbourly and allied relations between both countries on the basis of new political thinking.

With a view to reviewing some issues of cultural heritage, both sides decided to set up a bilateral commission comprising representatives of academies of sciences, ministries of culture and other ministries and organizations of both countries as well as the union republics of the USSR concerned.

Both governments will back and create the necessary conditions for expanding direct contacts between the citizens of both states and the expansion of exchange between social, cultural and youth organizations. To this end, both sides will take steps aimed at simplfying procedures of private trips, improving transportation, communications and customs services.

Both sides will create conducive conditions for the development of the national identity of people of Polish nationality residing in the Soviet Union and of ethnic groups of the nations of USSR in Poland. The sides expressed a mutual intention of lending comprehensive assistance in their activities, in cultivating the mother language, in creating cultural-educational societies and satisfying religious needs.

Mazowiecki and Ryzhkov devoted much attention to perfecting Polish-Soviet economic relations and upgrading their effectiveness. Both sides confirmed mutual interest in a deep restructuring of the mechanism of Polish-Soviet economic relations in the direction of bringing them closer to the conditions of the global market, creating a possibility of proceeding stage-by-stage to settlement of accounts in hard currency on the basis of global prices. Both sides agreed to create a joint working group with a view to working out proposals on this matter. They will be conducive to the right premises for developing direct ties between enterprises and other Polish and Soviet organizations. The heads of governments expressed a conviction that perestroika in the Soviet Union and the deep transformations taking place in Poland, create indispensable premises for the further revival of economic cooperation and trade.

Both sides reviewed issues of the coordination of the key directions of the five-year plan of development of the national economy of the USSR in 1991-1995 and the long-term concept of developing the national economy in Poland. In this context they affirmed the need to secure a mutual tie between supplies of raw materials and fuels from the Soviet Union and supplies of commodities of equal economic significance from Poland. The sides agreed that respective ministries of both countries would continue reviewing those matters.

Discussing the issue of cooperation within the framework of the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance, Mazowiecki and Ryzhkov expressed the intentions of both countries to try to speed up the process of restructuring the mechanism of multilateral cooperation within the CMEA, especially in the field of coordination of economic development and perfecting the currency-financial and credit system. Both sides will back other initiatives aiming in this direction. This would allow one to bring the CMEA closer to the conditions and rigors of the global market and deepen integration ties between CMEA- and EEC-member countries.

The heads of the governments stressed that explaining difficult matters in the history of the mutual relations of both countries and primarly the Katyn issue, will be conducive to freeing them of the negative residue of the past and strengthening of friendship between the Polish and Soviet peoples.

Reviewing international problems and principles of relations between states, the heads of the governments confirmed the convergence of views on the development of the situation in Europe and the world. They stated that both states are ready to act in favour of strengthening European and common security, reducing armaments, democratization of relations between states under the right of states and nations to self-determination, as well as development of broad international cooperation.

Mazowiecki and Ryzhkov exchanged views on the events taking place in European socialist countries. They think that objectively and historicaly determined processes taking place in these countries materialize within the framework of democratization and implementation of the right of nations to unconstrained choice.

Assessing East-West dialogue, the heads of governments stated with satisfaction that the ongoing turnabout in the process of overcoming confrontation has created conditions for a qualitatively new, peaceful stage of stable and foreseeable international development. They are convinced that the meeting between Gorbachev and Bush to take place at the beginning of this December, will be very important for the positive development of the situation in the world.

Poland and the Soviet Union will continue close cooperation with a view to dynamically developing the Helsinki process of constructing "a European home."

Greeting the democratic transformations taking place in the GDR, the premiers of Poland and the Soviet Union expressed a conviction that mutual relations between the two German states, based on mutual respect of sovereignty, and realities shaped on the continent in the postwar period and on respect of the principle of the inviolability of state borders, were extremely important for maintaining stability and security in Europe.

During the visit the Polish and Soviet governments signed an agreement on cooperation in natural environment protection.

The talks proceeded in a matter-of-fact atmosphere. They reflected the will and determination of the nations of the Soviet Union and the Polish nation to continue developing and consolidating relations of friendship and close cooperation between both countries on principles of good-neighbourhood, equal rights, confidence and mutual advantages.

Mazowiecki invited Ryzhkov to pay an official visit to Poland. The invitation was received with gratitude.

PZPR Daily's View

AU2711174889 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 25-26 Nov 89 p 9

[Commentary by Zygmunt Slomkowski, permanent correspondent in Moscow: "Initial Conclusions"]

[Text] Viewed from the angle of Polish-Soviet relations, it turned out that the first day of Premier Mazowiecki's visit to Moscow was the most significant in substantive terms. This was the day on which the main talks were held; talks that, if one can put it this way, oriented relations between Warsaw and Moscow toward the future. If one looks closely at the important assessments and statements made by both the host and the visitor and if one carefully reads the list of issues that were discussed, it becomes apparent that everything is based on what was accomplished or initiated in the past, especially in the recent past, and that the problems that still have to be resolved are ones that have appeared on the agenda before. One can, to provide just a few examples, mention issues such as Soviet supplies of raw materials and fuels, the principles governing settlements, the decentralization of economic cooperation, and the whole range of difficult problems that are known as "blank spots" in short, as well as everything connected with the position of Poles in the Soviet Union.

If the present visit achieves any progress in these areas—and one can be sure that it will—it will confirm that not only had the soil been prepared, but the seeds had already been sown. This is something that has to be particularly stressed in light of some of the views that were expressed even before the visit had started and had sought, for propaganda reasons, to depict it as almost marking the beginning of Polish-Soviet cooperation.

Second, Friday's [24 November] talks and the climate in which they took place showed how much the two states need each other and this was reflected in both sides agreeing that our relations had a strategic character and not one that was dictated by short-term considerations. So, this fully affirmed the arguments of the Polish left, whose achievement was to effect a breakthrough in Polish-Soviet relations. The course of the visit confirms that nothing needs to be started, although, of course, adjustments are necessary and the need to adopt a different approach to certain issues does occasionally arise.

The fact that one can arrive at a conclusion of this kind today merits all the more emphasis because Tadeusz Mazowiecki, on the one hand, and Mikhail Gorbachev and Nikolai Ryzhkov, on the other hand, represent different political and ideological formations. This affirms the objective nature of our highest national and state interests, which include Polish-Soviet cooperation.

Comment on Katyn Visit

LD2711211989 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1830 GMT 27 Nov 89

[Interview with Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki by reporter Jacek Snopkiewicz—date and place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Snopkoiewicz] Mr Premier, I would like to ask you a question, but not as premier. What, for you, were the special moments yesterday in the Katyn forest?

[Mazowiecki] I think that... [changes thought] You know, when we were going along that road, [word indistinct] among the woods, I simply could not tear myself away from the thought of how they walked there. Well, this was a very difficult moment.

[Snopkiewicz] [Word indistinct] that speaking of the past, we must think of the future. How, from the perspective of this first visit of yours to the Soviet Union, do you see our joint future, that of Poland and the Soviet Union?

[Mazowiecki] I have said many times that we will not change our georgaphy, but as De Gaulle said, geography cannot be changed but geopolitics can. What that means is: Make the situation one is in, in which one lives, a situation that is favorable. For, in relation to the Soviet Union, relation to Russia, I feel this is our prime task and long-term task. That is why I claim that this is a matter that we must treat not in terms of the exigencies of the moment, that we must treat in a principled way and that relates to both the alliance—a lasting alliance and not one of the moment—and the reconciliation of these nations.

Mazowiecki Returns

LD2711233589 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2300 GMT 27 Nov 89

[Text] Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki returned to Poland together with his delegation late this evening, following the end of an official visit to the Soviet Union. In a short talk with journalists at the airport in Warsaw, he said that he was satisfied with its results. He assessed with optimism the political and economic effects of the talks held in Moscow, although he did not hide the fact that they had been difficult. The premier strongly emphasized that both Nikolay Ryzhkov and Mikhail Gorbachev assessed [word indistinct] the changes taking place in Poland.

Solidarity Daily Comments on Katyn 'Crime'

LD2411150989 Warsaw PAP in English 1359 GMT 24 Nov 89

["There is no question of truth"—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 24—In an article headlined as above, the Solidarity daily GAZETA WYBORCZA goes back today to the crime in Katyn. Leon Bojko, the author of the article, writes in part:

"A Polish Government delegation headed by Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki will kneel in front of the Katyn graves, will lay wreaths and say prayers. Maybe this time the symbol of falseness in relations between Poland and the Soviet Union will be eventually removed, maybe one will manage to remove this heaviest stone on the road to understanding between Poles and Russians.

"The point is not in revealing the secret of Katyn—there is no such secret. There is no question of truth as concerns Katyn. Every Polish child knows who did it—the Stalinist NKVD [People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs]. Explanations that the truth cannot be told to the utmost because the archives are closed is ridiculous.

"We can sometimes hear advice to leave the issue alone, not to disturb normal relations with the Soviet Union, to bear in mind above all the Polish interests. But to pass over the crime in silence would mean betrayal of our most elementary interests, would mean consent to the commission of crime on our compatriots. And if you permit once... And what is quite obvious, nothing positive and lasting can be built on the basis of falseness and concealment.

"I am deeply convinced that the Russians will condemn that crime. But the case must be judged in public before the nation can pass its verdict. I believe that Russians will judge the Katyn crime exactly the way Poles did."

New Chance Seen for Polish-Soviet Relations

AU2611141589 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 24 Nov 89 pp 1,3

[Jacek Moskwa commentary: "Raison d'Etat and the Lessons of the Past"]

[Text] Tadeusz Mazowiecki's visit to Moscow will be an opportunity to free Polish-Soviet relations from their historical burden. Until August 1989, Polish-Soviet relations were—including the whole field of international policy—the exclusive preserve of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR]. This party, lacking from the very outset any mandate of support from society, did everything possible to entrench itself as the sole guarantor of the interests of Poland's superpower neighbor. Having taken the official rituals of friendship to embarrassing excess, it strove to create the impression that any political thought or activity that did not fit within the confines of its doctrine was, by its very nature, anti-Soviet. Owing to the fact that it could not and did not want to rule in a democratic way, it often availed itself of the specter of Soviet pressure to justify its own impotence in introducing reforms.

Tentative attempts to show that changes in the political system in Poland did not mean a threat to the Soviet state's interests, were denounced as a direct challenge to the political hegemony of the party. The party's reaction to the "Letter of the 35"—signed by many distinguished representatives of independent public opinion, who in 1981 had pronounced themselves against anti-Soviet excesses, and accented the need to base the Polish-Soviet alliance on a much wider base of social acceptance—is highly illustrative of this.

Tadeusz Mazowiecki is the continuator of the Polish political line that draws realistic conclusions stemming from the geographic location of our country. He is going to Moscow as the first Polish premier who is outside the circle of the communist power elite. This does not imply that he is an anti-Russian, or an anti-Soviet politician. On the contrary, he knows—as do all serious people in "Solidarity," and outside it—that the rapid progress of the democratic changes taking place in Poland today is only possible thanks to the continuing support of Gorbachev and his political team. This support still remains the decisive factor of our reforms.

The talks will not be easy, but the balance sheet of the last few weeks and months gives hope for the future. The greatest progress concerns the restructuring of the political and economic system in Poland, and Poland's relations with he West. The "Brezhnev Doctrine" has been buried not only by mere declarations. Facts like the acceptance of the "roundtable" accords and later the political consequences of the June elections, speak loudly for themselves. It would also seem that Poland's perspectives of shaping closer economic relations with the United States, as well as with the European Economic Community, with all their attendant political implications, is not perceived as a threat by the Soviet leadership. The West has promised us help, and it has kept a close eye on Moscow's reactions, and it has met with Moscow's sympathetic acquiescence.

The CPSU has not withdrawn its help for its ideological allies—the present PZPR—but the present state policy of the Soviet Union is dominated by a pragmatic approach. The very same people who in Brezhnev's time were denounced as the agents of world imperialism, are today guests at the Soviet Embassy's banquets, appear on Soviet television, and their statements are carried in the Soviet press.

Given the situation where Poland is paving the way along which the GDR and Hungary are quickly advancing, and behind them other countries, what is happening in Poland has to be seen as an interesting experiment which it is possible to accept, on the condition of continued internal stability and respect for alliance obligations.

The handling of all those matters that are tied with the whole field of economic relations, will be more difficult. The long years of building links with scant regard to economic laws and objective assessments of true value, have produced a paradoxical situation in which both sides are losers. Additionally, both countries now find themselves in a state of deep and lasting economic crisis. There is, however, no alternative way out other that to base trade on the usually accepted principles that will be advantageous to both countries.

In our relationship there lies the heavy burden of the past. A full and sincere approach to the crimes of the Stalinist period—which scarred the Polish nation, as well as the other nations of the Soviet Union—requires that the i's be dotted and the t's crossed.

For us Poles, Katyn has a particularly significant symbolic dimension. It should be quite apparent that our expectation of a moral redress for the shameful murder of Polish officers is not aimed at the policies of Mikhail Gorbachev—with whose name, on the contrary, is linked the final breach of the official silence on the subject of this tragedy. The fact that President Wojciech Jaruzelski—who has the unquestioned confidence of the Soviet authorities—has also joined in the dialogue about the "blank spots," must also carry political weight. It is a gesture of support for Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki in his difficult mission.

A completely different interpretation comes to mind on reading the interview with M.F. Rakowski for PAP, with which readers of RZECZPOSPOLITA are familiar. The first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee appears in his old role as the spokesman for the Polish raison d'etat that is now threatened by Germany, and accuses "the Polish pro-West right wing" of being about to repeat the hereditary mistakes, and adopting "the fashion for anti-Soviet posturing, pouting, and settling of accounts." If we look behind the verbiage, his theme reveals a Poland once again governed by the PZPR owing to the renewed German threat. We have listened to these discourses before, and we are all having to drink the bitter results, and this includes the Soviet leadership. If today there are incidents of anti-Soviet excesses in Poland—they are rather on the level of juvenile pranks, rather than something much more serious—then these are a reaction against that particular way of approaching geopolitics.

We are witnessing with our very own eyes the emergence of a new shape of Eastern and central Europe that is being born out of the chaos left by the collapse of the old forms of rule. In this chaos we need the support of a nearby superpower—a superpower that has been reformed and democratized. In turn the superpower requires the existence of a strong and stable ally at this position in Europe, and not a form of protectorate overseen by an authority that remains in a permanent state of conflict with its own society, and remains dependent, at each critical moment, on external assistance.

The Polish raison d'etat—since we are talking about it—can be summed up as the requirement to ensure that the alliances of the Polish state—also in the face of potential danger—have to be guaranteed by Polish society. Only then will these alliances be credible, and considered effective by the sides who are parties thereto.

Ethnic Poles Form Cultural Association

LD1811125589 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 18 Nov 89

[Text] The Polish House Cultural Association is being created in Moscow. Details in a telephone report:

[Reporter] This is an initiative of the Polonian circles in the RSFSR, and harking back to the tradition of similar organizations once on the territory of Tsarist Russia and later the Soviet Union until the mid-1930's. Representatives came from large Polish circles in Kazakhstan and Siberia and smaller ones in Central Russia, and of course from Moscow itself. The founding committee presented the draft statute of the organization and also an appeal to Poles in the Soviet Union, from which I would like to cite a small part:

Why until now, we read in the document, do we remain a forgotten minority? Why are the problems of Soviet Poles shamefully passed over in silence? After all, there are around 2 million of us here, no fewer than there are of Germans, Crimean Tatars, or representatives of other nationalities. Let us thus unify our efforts, let our mutual cause, we read on in the document, serve the rebirth of national identity, the maintenance of language, traditions, and culture, so that in years to come we will not have to reply to the question of our children: Where are we from?

Walesa Discusses Recent Visit to U.S.

AU2711180689 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 22 Nov 89 pp 1,3

[Report on interview with Lech Walesa, chairman of the "Solidarity" Independent Self-Governing Trade Union, by PAP correspondent Jerzy Gorski in Washington on 17 November: "A Great Desire To Help, and Many Doubts"]

[Text] At the end of the Washington stage of his visit to the United States, Lech Walesa, chairman of the "Solidarity" independent self-governing trade union, gave an interview to Jerzy Gorski, Washington's PAP correspondent.

L. Walesa said that he believed that the talks that he had in Washington with President Bush, members of the Cabinet, and congressional leaders would not only bear fruit in a better understanding of the situation in our country and of our concept of aid, the essence of which is not holding out our hands for alms, but in striving to increase economic cooperation between Poland and the West as much as possible, and to do business in Poland that will be of benefit to our country and its foreign partners.

[Gorski] Mr Chairman, your visit to Washington, the talks that you held, as well as the enthusiasm with which your speech before Congress was received were a kind of great appeal to all Americans for an understanding of our difficult situation and, above all, for an understanding of our concept of the aid that we are hoping for and counting on. On this final day of your visit to the U.S. capital could you tell us whether your 4 days of continual dialogue with your hosts has altered something about your perception of Americans? Is there a growing understanding of our economic problems?

[Walesa] It is difficult to give a clear-cut answer to that question. I came to provide as clear a description as possible of our difficulties, our needs, and our vision of development, but chiefly in order to describe our concept of the aid that we are hoping for from the West. Following my Washington talks, I am convinced that there is still a lot of uncertainty, hundreds of matters that have not been clarified, as well as psychological barriers of a special kind. In general, there is a great desire to help and a lot of justified and often unjustified doubts and misgivings.

I came to Washington to thank the Americans for the support and help that we have already received. At the same time, I tried not to avoid difficult issues, and I recalled that sad historical period when we were abandoned. I pointed out that there was a period in history when the West left us to our fate. We struggled along with difficulties that were beyond our powers and capabilities. That is also something that I talked about. However, that is already history. Today we are counting on support, we are hoping that sooner or later the Americans and the West will become aware of what we call mutually advantageous cooperation and business for both Poland and for them.

I was surprised at the extent to which the 45 years have distorted the image of our country in the eyes of many Americans. I became convinced of this during our talks. I was surprised that an image that still comes up, not always but sometimes, is that of the communist thug, an image of primitive people with whom one cannot do business. It is difficult to exaggerate the importance of efforts aimed at dispelling this primitive and harmful image, which discourages cooperation with us: Some kind of psychological block continues to exist.

It has to be explained, and in a very convincing way, to people who want to do business with us that no one will fleece them, that we will not deprive them of the opportunity to do business, that we want to create the conditions and principles for trade and economic cooperation that they are used to, the sort that benefit them and us. I get the impression that this process of convincing them that investment in Poland is good business, that we will protect them, and that Poland is a market in which they will earn more than anywhere else, has just started, and that the form is one in which neither they nor we can lose by it, but on the contrary we and they stand to gain by it.

It was my intention to convince the persons that I spoke to from the administration and Congress, as well as from economic and financial circles that the creation of this kind of system of permanent, long-term interests between Poland and its foreign partners is possible, that it would be of enormous assistance to Poland, but also business for them. I hope very much that to some extent, as a result of these talks, there will be a greater understanding of Polish affairs and of their own interest in cooperation with Poland. Let us wait and see.

Asked what surprised him most about America, Lech Walesa replied:

"The reactions not only of ordinary people, but also of people of high political caliber. I did not encounter any negative reactions. However, I have to admit that I did encounter frank admissions of a lack of understanding for many of our affairs, and that is what I found the most surprising; it was those admissions of oversimplified images of Poland, of certain false assumptions.

"The talks that I had were often very emotional and not just informative or substantive. It was acknowledged that images of Poland were oversimplified, but it was also stated that it was necessary to conduct a rapid and fundamental revision of these ideas and views.

"I think that the people that I spoke to during my meetings with members of Congress, the administration, and other circles were being honest and saying what they really felt when they said they wanted to have a better understanding of Polish affairs and were prepared to give Poland help.

"However, this great wave of pro-Polish statements and the readiness to do business with us may run aground on our inefficiency, lack of resourcefulness, and incompetence. That is what I fear the most. I fear that our inefficiency, incompetence, what I would call our sloppiness syndrome may quickly dampen the enthusiasm of those who take seriously our appeals for aid and economic cooperation.

"The Americans are business people. If there is business to be done, it has to be done fast. They do not see any problems in cases where we think that nothing can be done."

[Gorski] Do you think that our slowness to act and our frequent incompetence pose the main threat to prospects for Polish-American relations?

[Walesa] I often said do not be put off, the Poles will learn quickly, they are flexible, and it is inevitable that in our situation certain obstacles will be overcome.

I have got an idea. I would like to see the setting up of a firm, institution, organization, or something of that kind to foster contacts with representatives of foreign economic groups, for contacts with the foreign business communities.

I am not the government, I do not represent the Polish Government, but I would like to discuss this subject with Premier Mazowiecki. I consider the whole area of contacts with representatives of foreign economic circles and foreign business with Poland to be exceptionally important. We cannot discourage people who are interested in doing business with Poland, business that will benefit Poland, by our lack of resourcefulness, indifference, or incompetence. The impression that I get from the talks that I have held is that there are still a lot of illogical and imagined fears about doing business in Poland. What I repeated again and again was: We, for our part, will give you maximum guarantees for good business in Poland, but we cannot offer you more than that, if you think that that is too little.

Declarations of 100-percent security in conducting business in Poland are a fiction, just as they are in the case of any other state. You either know how to do business or not. We are inviting you, but we cannot guarantee you success. That depends on you. It seems to me that the psychological barrier stemming from misunderstanding and fear can and must be overcome. I said to the people that I spoke to: Let us reach agreement about the principles of our work and the distribution of profits. That is something to which we will scrupulously adhere.

[Gorski] Your visit to the United States is a kind of "promotional" tour for Poland with all its good and bad sides. Wherever you went you talked about the opportunities that exist for doing business in Poland, but you also did not conceal the difficulties that American businessmen may encounter in Poland. How do you imagine the "Polish stage" of this great undertaking, that is, your "promotional" trip to America?

[Walesa] As I already said, you have to take account of the difficulties involved in doing business in Poland, so that no one who is interested in doing business in our country will be put off by incompetence and an inability to act. As I already told you, I think that a team, commission, or institute for cooperation with foreign countries should be set up for the purpose of explaining matters, safeguarding the interests of both sides, and cutting all kinds of Gordian knots that stifle initiative in economic cooperation with foreign countries. What I am thinking of and what I will propose to Premier Mazowiecki on my return can take the form of an institution, commission, or bilateral Polish-American group, but it can also have a multilateral, international character. The people representing the body should be able to quickly and effectively intervene in the Sejm, in the government, and should have the right to decide about whether to remove or amend this or that regulation and to propose the adoption of new legislation.

In a word, what I am taking away with me from America is the belief that if we want to do good business with the West, we have to find ways of knocking down the greatest barriers that hinder the entry of capital into Poland and doing business in Poland that will benefit our country.

That is one of the basic conclusions to be drawn from my trip to the United States and from the talks that I have had. Our "sloppiness syndrome" cannot discourage those who really want to help, and I am convinced that there are many such people here in America.

Approximately 100 Refugees Remain in Warsaw

LD1311113289 Hamburg DPA in German
1034 GMT 13 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw (DPA)—The stream of GDR refugees in Warsaw has also petered out. Only about 100 people were still in the embassy's care today. Around 70 of them want to emigrate via Sweden by ferry tomorrow. They chose this path so to be able to take their cars. The GDR Embassy completed the emigration formalities, but had only two applicants left today. The remaining GDR citizens in Warsaw are mainly minors who have to wait for their parent's approval, as well as a few "problem cases".

Foundations of Polish-German Borders Discussed

PM2211141489 Wroclaw GAZETA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 16 Nov 89 p 1

[Julian Bartosz commentary under the rubric "In My Opinion": "Let Me Remind You Again..."]

[Text] Careful study of the joint statement by Polish Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki and Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl issued 14 November 1989 allows me to conclude that the document certainly constitutes a sound basis for the development of normal relations between our two states in a large number of fields involving our mutual interests. It would be unwise, petty, and entirely at odds with the spirit of the present historic era to question this truth. The joint statement demonstrates positively that both sides have every intention of achieving a real normalization of relations, a normalization that is being built on the foundations of the treaty of 7 December 1970.

As regards the permanence and inviolability of Poland's western border—established within the provisions of the Potsdam Agreement and subsequently recognized by the GDR in July 1950 and by the FRG in December 1970—we find three important clauses pertaining to this question in the 14 November document:

"The Polish People's Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany regard the treaty of 7 December 1970 on the bases of the normalization of their mutual relations as a firm foundation for their relations" (clause 4);

"They will continue to observe this treaty in letter and spirit, and they will make it the basis of the full normalization and comprehensive development of their mutual relations" (clause 6);

"The inviolability of the borders and the observance of the territorial integrity and sovereignty of all states in Europe within their existing borders are a fundamental precondition for peace" (clause 61, paragraph 2).

Thus, if we base our observations on this document alone, we can conclude that the fundamental interests of Poland's reason of state along the Oder and the Neisse have been fully confirmed. Let me stress here that I say "confirmed" because the cited paragraphs do not add any new elements to the earlier bilateral agreements (CSCE).

However, after several decades of writing about German issues for GAZETA ROBOTNICZA, I now feel obliged to draw the attention of the public in Lower Silesia to the fact that, despite Premier Mazowiecki's insistence, despite requests by the Polish side during the final formulation of the text of the statement, and despite the critical opinions expressed by Genscher and Vogel during the 8 November Bundestag debate, the Federal Chancellor refrained from making any statements that could in future be regarded as referring to a possible joint political representation of all German people. On the contrary, speaking in Warsaw, he declared unequivocally: "We neither can nor want to alter any legal positions. We will maintain the declared foundations of our policy on Germany and our Ostpolitik." Well, the well-known legal positions he referred to include, among others, the "Joint Bundestag Resolution of 17 May 1972," which contains the following statement: "The agreements signed with East European countries do not (...) constitute any legal foundation for the borders that exist today." Moreover, the positions which the chancellor "neither can nor wants to alter" include the 1974 decision of the Constitutional Tribunal, which refers to 1937 German borders.

I have been drawing our readers' attention to these West German "legal foundations"—the implications of which were consistently ignored in Poland—for the past decade or so. Let me now remind you of them again. I do so not to provoke political unrest but to let our public realize the real considerations of "grand politics" that lie concealed behind a variety of legal formulations.

It is also useful to be aware of the implications of Chancellor Kohl's "European philosophy." During a reception held in Warsaw in honor of our premier, Chancellor Kohl said: "In the Europe of the future priority must be given to questions of self-determination and human rights as well as national sovereignty, not to issues of state borders or territories. (...) It will be sovereign nations, not sovereign states, which will one day complete the building of the new Europe."

My answer to this is: Danke schoen, but we Poles prefer to keep our sovereign state, after all.

Officials Protest GDR Travel Restrictions

LD2511095789 Warsaw PAP in English
0001 GMT 25 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 24—The Council of Ministers of the GDR adopted a unilateral decision on November 24 introducing limitations on the travel of foreigners to and through the GDR.

The restrictions include, among others, a ban on the purchase of some foodstuffs, durables and clothing in stores and ban on making stop-overs during transit trips by train and automobiles.

In connection with this, General Director at the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs B. Miernik summoned the GDR ambassador in Warsaw, issuing a protest and demanding decisions by GDR authorities breached the principle of mutuality in treating citizens and contradicted bilateral agreements between Poland and the GDR as well as the Helsinki Final Act and the final document of the Vienna meeting. These decisions strike against good-neighbourly relations of cooperation between both states and societies. They arouse the greater surprise as they took effect immediately and several days before the date of talks which were to be held in Berlin.

Poland's ambassador in Berlin also tabled a protest to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the GDR.

Price Increases Announced for Milk, Bread

LD2611184689 Warsaw PAP in English
1748 26 GMT Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 26—Official retail prices for low-fat milk, low-fat cottage cheese, milk nutrients for prematurely born children and infants, and for regular and country bread are to be raised as of November 27, the Ministry of Finance announced.

The official retail prices for these products have not been changed since August 1.

Following are the new prices:

—low-fat milk—210 zloties for a liter (previously 30 zloties),

—low-fat cottage cheese—1,000 zloties for a kilogram (previously 150 zloties),

—milk nutrients for prematurely born children and infants - 1,000 zloties for 250 grams,

—regular bread—600 zloties for 0.8 kilogram (previously 94 zloties),

—country bread—700 zloties for 0.8 kilograme.

Peasant Party Congress Adopts Resolution

LD2711105989 Warsaw PAP in English
0055 GMT 27 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 26—The United Peasant Party (UPP) has ended its political activity, reads the resolution adopted by the 11th UPP Extraordinary Congress, the congress of revival of the peasant movement which started its two-day debates here

The congress resolved to form the Polish Peasant Party—"Rebirth."

Over 2,700 delegates take part in the congress, over 1,100 of them are private farmers. Over 2,300 delegates have secondary or university education,.

Before starting the congress delegates took part in a mass.

Delivering a report on the UPP work, the hitherto UPP Central Committee Chairman Dominik Ludwiczak appealed to all peasant parties and political groups formed so far, to reporesentatives of the Private Farmers' Solidarity, to the Union of Farmers, Farmers' Circles and organizations, to all who care about feeding the nation and about rural problems to join in the cause of building one, strong Peasant Party.

A similar meaning had a message sent to delegates to the 11th Congress by General Franciszek Kaminski, chairman of the recently reactivated Polish Peasant Party.

The congress was presented with a letter sent to the UPP Central Comittee leader by Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki. Justifying his absence at the congress with a visit to the Soviet Union and thanking for the invitation to debates, the premier expressed recognition for the UPP contribution to forming the new government coalition which constitutes, as he stressed, a breakthrough in the postwar history of Poland.

Tadeusz Mazowiecki declared support for all initiatives, possible to be carried out in the present conditions, conducive to improvement of agriculture and food economy and to betterment of the living conditions of rural population.

There were several essential points in the discussion. Some of them concerned squaring up with the 40-yeear-long UPP history. In this context formulated where programmatic proposals on forms and methods of work of a new party which would ensure its place at Poland's political map and would guarantee to agriculture a proper status in the state's economy.

Much time in the discussion went to civilizational problems of the countryside, especially questions of access to education, culture, medical care.

In the morning the congress voted acceptance for the hitherto party's leadership.

Following explanations by the chairman of the party of debates and representatives of the congress commissions, the postulate to reassess the hitherto leadership was rejected.

The congress is to wind up its debates on Monday.

Uzycki Discusses Size, Strength of Army

AU2411122289 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 17 Nov 89 p 2

[Interview with General of Arms Jozef Uzycki, chief of the General Staff of the Polish Army and vice minister of national defense, by Stanislaw Reperowicz: "How Big Are Our Armed Forces?"—date and place not given]

[Text] [Reperowicz] Our Army has been a center of special attention by opinion-forming circles recently. Both the foreign and the Polish press have been carrying increasing amounts of information, often contradictory, about the size of our Armed Forces, their technical equipment, offensive capability, and so on. It is claimed that, compared to other European countries, Poland's Army is incommensurately large and excessively armed. The NEW YORK TIMES said recently that in terms of the number of men, the Polish Army is the third largest in Europe after the USSR and FRG. How much truth is there in this?

[Uzycki] Those statements do not correspond to the truth and exaggerate the size of our armed forces. They also clash with the official data, whose credibility has not been questioned. Let me refer to the generally accessible documents of both military-political alliances, in other words the 30 January 1989 "Statement by the Defense Committee of the Warsaw Pact Member-States," the NATO publication "Conventional Forces in Europe—The Facts" of 25 November 1988," and "The Military Balance 1987-88." Of Polish sources, I would like to mention this year's statement by Army General Florian Siwicki, minister of national defense, on the subject of the restructuring of the Polish Army.

[Reperowicz] So how big are our Armed Forces?

[Uzycki] They are certainly not among the biggest in Europe. They comprise, or did comprise at the beginning of the year, 347,000 men, which put them in seventh place in Europe after the USSR (2,485,000 men), Turkey (654,000 men), France (547,000 men), the FRG (488,000 men), Italy (388,000 men), and U.S. forces in Europe and adjoining waters (380,000 men). Following the reduction in the size of the Polish Army by another 33,000 men by the end of the year, we will move to ninth place behind Spain (325,000 men) and Great Britain (319,000 men).

[Reperowicz] Are these 347,000 men of ours, or rather the almost 314,000 men, a little, or a lot?

[Uzycki] That is a modest quantity. Poland occupies 5 percent of Europe, which puts it in eighth place. Its population comprises 5.5 percent of the population in Europe, which puts it in seventh place in this regard. When we compare the size of the population with the number of soldiers, we conclude that the soldiers make up 0.91 percent of the population. We used to be in 10th place in this regard, behind Greece (2.09 percent), Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Turkey, the USSR, the GDR, Hungary, France, and Belgium. But thanks to the restructuring envisaged by the end of the year, we will be in 12th place, with a figure of 0.83 percent, behind Norway and Spain.

These are enlightening figures. We reach a similar result when we calculate the Army's size per square kilometer. Belgium has the greatest number of soldiers per square kilometer, 2.98. After Belgium come the Netherlands, the FRG, GDR, Greece, Czechoslovakia, Great Britain, Italy, Hungary, and only then Poland, with a figure of 1.11 soldiers per square kilometer.

[Reperowicz] And what about the "excessive" armaments?

[Uzycki] That is also a fantasy. Many countries are ahead of us in the quantity of, weapons, including the USSR, FRG, and Great Britain. The little Netherlands has eight tanks per 1,000 square kilometers. Neutral Switzerland has 20, the FRG has 17, and Poland has only 10. We are far behind other countries in the number of warships (17th place), combat helicopters (15th place), armored transporters (9th place), and so on.

Those are the facts. However, they do not exhaust the subject. The highly developed and prosperous Western countries modernize the equipment of their armed forces relatively frequently. We cannot afford that. We conserve our valuable combat equipment so that it may function as long as possible. Of course, that affects its modernity. Therefore one should consider not just the quantity of combat equipment, but also its quality. One aircraft is not like another, and some of our aircraft have been in service for many years.

[Reperowicz] Therefore our Armed Forces are not the third largest in Europe. Instead they are modest in every respect. They realize the country's dramatic economic situation, and cooperate with the authorities and society in order to improve it.

[Uzycki] We are doing all we can to alleviate the situation. For this purpose, and on our own initiative, we are considerably reducing the size of the army. We have reduced quantities of primary armaments (tanks, cannon, aircraft, and so on); reduced imports of military technology; converted part of the defense industry to the production of market commodities; made the system of training for the military reserve less expensive; introduced many austerity measures to the army; and so on.

We are doing all this in the hope that the NATO states do likewise. However, they have still not done so. They are not only maintaining their armed forces at the previous levels, but also improving their quality. In other words, they are making them more efficient by introducing new types of weapons. This is not reducing the material basis of danger in Europe at all, and is making us fearful for the country's security.

[Reperowicz] In that case, would a further unilateral reduction in the size of the armed forces not disturb the country's defense capability?

[Uzycki] We are aware of that, but we cannot take any major step in this direction until the Vienna disarmament talks have brought the expected bilateral decisions. Until then, we will go ahead with the plans of restructuring that we have announced. We want to guarantee the country and people security at the lowest possible cost. However, the galloping inflation is making that extremely difficult. The military budget, which is decreasing as a result of devaluation, has forced us to establish priorities in spending. We have given first place to providing food for soldiers and safeguarding their health. We have also considerably reduced the cost of training. We have reduced the number of exercises, flights, tank movements, and so on. We have increased the use of simulators, which are cheaper than the real equipment. But here as well there are limits that cannot be exceeded. The Ministry of National Defense leadership is considering subsidiary economic activity by the army, which could provide us with a certain amount of income to compensate for the devalued budget.

After all, we cannot rely on the charity or mercy of economically and militarily strong countries. Weak countries are forced to the sidelines of international life, and no one thinks about them.

Neither should we completely rely on help from our allies. They have their own problems, and can rely on us the way we rely on them. Each military-defense alliance requires from its members a certain level of contribution to the work of joint defense.

To conclude, I would like to underline our consistent aim toward a further reduction to the armed forces, with a simultaneous preservation of the essential minimum defense potential. This minimum should correspond to the state's economic possibilities, and should guarantee its sovereignty at the same time. Our history tells us that the country's fate cannot be left to providence.

Regiment Disbanded by Defense Minister

LD2411025789 Szczecin Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 23 Nov 89

[Text] The 23d Dresden Medium Tank Regiment in Stargard Szczecinski, in accordance with the order of the minister of national defense, will cease to exist. Today, the ceremony of farewell to the unit's standard took place. In the course of the next 4 months, the regiment will gradually be disbanded.

Military Units Disbanded in Lubusz Land

LD2411134389 Zielona Gora Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 23 Nov 89

[Text] Three military units have been reformed this week in Lubusz Land, Ziemia Lubuska. On 20 November, in Krosno Odrzanskie, the 11th Zlotow Mechanized Regiment, and in Slubice, the 23d Medium Tank Regiment; and in Zagan yesterday, the 3d Medium Tank Regiment. During the ceremony in Zagan, in accordance with the order of the minister of national defense, the regimental standard was handed over to the Silesian Military District and by the same token, the unit has ceased to exist. It is to be completely reformed by March of next year. Some soldiers will return to civilian life; some of the equipment will be auctioned off. The rest will go to augment the equipment of other military units.

Newly Elected RCP Leadership Announced

AU2411192989 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1907 GMT 24 Nov 89

["The RCP Leading Bodies Elected by the 14th Party Congress"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 24/11/1989—Members of CC [Central Committee] of RCP [Romanian Communist Party] Executive Political Committee:

Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party; Emil Bobu, Elena Ceausescu, Lina Ciobanu, Ion Coman, Nicolae Constantin, Constantin Dascalescu, Ion Dinca, Miu Dobrescu, Ludovic Fazekas, Ilie Matei [new member], Manea Manescu, Paul Niculescu, Constantin Olteanu, Gheorghe Oprea, Gheorghe Pana, Barbu Petrescu [new member], Dumitru Popescu, Ion Radu [new member], Gheorghe Radulescu, Ioan Totu [new member].

Alternate members of CC of RCP Executive Political Committee:

Stefan Andrei, Radu Balan, Bogdan Baluta, Maria Bradea [new member], Nicu Ceausescu, Silviu Curticeanu [new member], Gheorghe David, Carol Dina [new member], Ion Fratila [new member], Mihai Gere, Maria Ghitulica, Nicolae Giosan, Suzana Gadea, Mihai Marina, Vasile Milea, Ioachim Moga, Ana Muresan, Cornel Pacoste, Tudor Postelnicu, Petre Preoteasa [new member], Stefan Rab [new member], Ion Stoian, Iosif Szasz, Ion Traian Stefanescu [new member], Ioan Toma [new member], Ion Ursu.

CC of RCP Secretariat:

Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, and secretaries of the CC of the RCP: Vasile Barbulescu, Emil Bobu, Ion Coman, Silviu Curticeanu, Ilie Matei, Constantin Olteanu, Constantin Radu, Iosif Szasz.

Nicolae Constantin was elected chairman of the Central Collegium of the Party.

Ceausescu Congratulates CPCZ's Urbanek

AU2511190489 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1508 GMT 25 Nov 89

["Telegram of Congratulations"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 25/11/1989—Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP], sent a telegram of warm congratulations to Karel Urbanek on his election as secretary-general of the CC [Central Committee] of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ].

I avail myself of this opportunity, the telegram says, to highlight with satisfaction the growing course of the ties of close friendship, solidarity and manysided collaboration between the RCP and the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, between Romania and Czechoslovakia, for the benefit of the two peoples, of socialist construction in the two countries.

I express my conviction that the relations between the two parties and countries, underlain by full equality of rights, mutual advantage, respect for national independence and sovereignty, will develop in future, too, on multiple planes, in the interests of the Romanian and Czechoslovak peoples, of the cause of socialism, peace and collaboration worldwide, the telegram also says.

Document Signed on Goods Exchanges With USSR

AU2711222389 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 19 Nov 89 p 5

[Text] Moscow, AGERPRES, 18 November—A protocol on exchange of goods and payments between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the USSR for 1990 was signed in Moscow. The document envisages the further increase and diversification of the volume of mutual deliveries of goods between the two countries.

For Romania, the trade protocol was signed by Ioan Ungur, minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation, and for the USSR by A.I. Kachanov, first deputy minister of foreign economic relations of the USSR.

Ion Bucur, Romania's ambassador in Moscow attended the signing ceremony.

Albanian Exhibition Opens in Bucharest

AU2711165489 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1525 GMT 27 Nov 89

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 27/11/1989—On the 45th anniversary of Albania's national day, the exhibition of documentary photographs "Albania Today" opened in Bucharest on Monday, November 27. Sponsored by the Romanian Institute for Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries, the exhibition shows aspects of the economic and social development of that country. Albanian documentaries were also shown.

In the attendance were executives of the Foreign Ministry and of the Romanian Institute for Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries, men of letters and art, journalists. Also present were Piro Vito, ambassador of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania in Bucharest, heads of other diplomatic missions accredited to Romania and members of the diplomatic corps.

Ceausescu Greets SWAPO on Election Results

AU2711215589 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 16 Nov 89 p 6

[Message from Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu to Sam Nujoma, chairman of the South-West African People's Organization—date and place not given]

[Text] To Comrade Sam Nujoma, chairman of the South-West African People's Organization (SWAPO):

On behalf of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP], the Romanian people, and on my own behalf, I take particular pleasure in conveying to you, to all SWAPO members and sympathizers, as well as to the friendly Namibian people warm greetings for the results obtained in the general elections in Namibia.

Our party and people, who from the very beginning have actively supported the just struggle of the Namibian people to fulfill their aspirations for freedom and national independence, sincerely rejoice in this outstanding historical victory, which opens up the path for the independent development of Namibia on the path of socioeconomic progress.

I believe that the traditional relations of friendship, solidarity, and cooperation between the RCP and SWAPO and between the Romanian and Namibian peoples will continue to strongly develop, for the benefit of our peoples and in the interest of the cause of freedom and peace, of understanding and cooperation throughout the world.

Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general

Romanian-Sponsored Document Endorsed at UN

AU2311145689 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0909 GMT 23 Nov 89

[Text] United Nations, AGERPRES, 23/11/1989—The Legal Committee of the UN General Assembly endorsed by consensus a document regarding the recourse to a commission of good offices, mediation and conciliation at the UN for the peaceful settlement of differences. This document originates in an initiative of President Nicolae Ceausescu of Romania based on the conception that peace, the consolidation of detente and the building of genuine security cannot be conceived without the complete elimination of the policy of threat and use of force from international relationship and the exclusively peaceful settlement of all interstate disputed issues.

The endorsed document reinforces the states' obligation to resort to exclusively peaceful means in the settlement of their differences and contributes to the increase of the role and authority of the UN in the promotion of relations of peace and cooperation among all members of the international community. It is also an instrument of great practical importance in the efforts made to strengthen international legality, to ensure the observance of the aims and principles of the United Nations, to translate into fact the essential function of the world organization to settle peacefully the states of tension and conflict, any international differences.

Presidency Statement on RCP, 'Differences'

LD2711185989 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1807 GMT 27 Nov 89

[Text] Belgrade, November 27 (TANJUG)—To be found between the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) and the Romanian Communist Party (RCP) are essential differences in their views on processes in socialism, reforms, democracy, the party role and in the exercise of human rights and freedoms, but, anyhow, needed is to develop cooperation between their two countries on the principles of equal rights and good neighbourhood, the Presidency of the LCY Central Committee announced here today.

The announcement came in reply to some critical items in the Yugoslav press by reason of a message the LCY CC [Central Committee] sent to the RCP Congress and on account of the presence of an LCY delegation at that congress.

In this message, the announcement states precisely, in the positive are evaluated the processes of reforms indispensable in some socialist countries. Also stressed is that the LCY has opted for carrying out deep-going economic and political reforms in Yugoslavia.

In its message to the RCP Congress the LCY Presidency draws attention to the need of permanent and all-sided care for the social position and affirmation of Yugoslav ethnic minorities in Romania.

The problems existing in relations between the two countries were explained in more detail by the LCY delegation to RCP representatives, the announcement has it, also saying that the Yugoslav Party delegation head, Marko Lolic, returned to Yugoslavia after the 2nd day of the RCP Congress.

REUTER Interviews Milosevic on Policies

AU2411123989 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 14 Nov 89 p 5

[Report on interview with Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, by unidentified REUTER correspondent: "The People Choose Their Own President"—date and place not given]

[Text] Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic [SR] of Serbia, has given an interview to the British news agency REUTER, which we carry in full.

[REUTER] The SR of Serbia has for the first time introduced the practice of direct elections for the post of president of the republic. One has the impression that this decision was made at the last moment. What influenced this decision and what will it mean for the republic's future political life?

[Milosevic] A form of election has been established which guarantees respect for the will of the majority of Serbia's citizens. This means that it will never again be possible for a chosen candidate to assume the post of president without the confidence of the majority of citizens. You can conclude yourself what that means for the republic's political life.

[REUTER] Among certain intellectual circles recently, there have also been calls for a boycott of the assembly elections, because the candidates have allegedly been picked at nominating conferences, according to the usual old routines, without real alternatives. To what extent are these objections justified?

[Milosevic] It is correct that at these elections we are not fully rid of the old electoral system. To that extent, these remarks are justified. I am, however, convinced that when we complete the constitutional changes, all remaining grounds for these and similar remarks will disappear.

However, it is not true that the candidates have been picked according to the usual old routines. On the contrary, candidates have been exclusively nominated by citizens who have, on a massive scale, put forward many more candidates than will be elected. There are no candidates "from above." The candidates who achieved their status successfully passed the primary electoral stage on the basis of the signatures of 30 or more citizens. There are such candidates at both communal and republican levels.

[REUTER] Do you expect significant support among Albanian voters in Kosovo?

[Milosevic] The Albanians in Kosovo have for a long time, for several decades, usually through no fault of their own, been poisoned by ideas which have driven them against the tide of the contemporary world, toward isolation and hermeticism instead of receptiveness and integration. This indoctrination will leave its residue for a certain time. Certainly it will also be evident at these elections, but increasingly less so, I am convinced, in the future. There is a growing awareness that a policy of national equality and freedom for everybody and every people is the only just and realistic solution for their common future, especially because the Albanians and Serbs in Kosovo and in Serbia have lived together for centuries and because mutual harmony and peace is in their common interest.

[REUTER] The SR of Serbia has achieved its preponderance over the provinces it sought, but new victims have fallen in Kosovo, and the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins continues. How do you see the future course of events in the southern province?

[Milosevic] The process of normalizing life in every respect is under way in the province. There are ever fewer grounds for emigration under duress, and it will gradually stop. The state is now in a position to protect every one of its citizens. I believe that we will have a normal state of affairs there relatively soon. This is shown by the fact that the unrest that you mention has not assumed anything like the mass character that it had only a few months ago, although even then it was not possible to speak of a great mass of people. The unrest now involves small groups of extremists whose activities in some cases resemble terrorist attacks. They will be prevented in the way that any law-governed state would do it. The victims that you mention are exclusively individuals who have used firearms against the militia. I am not aware that the police anywhere in the world would look kindly or understandingly on this.

[REUTER] A relatively small number of Albanians took part in the recent unrest in Kosovo. Does this mean that the majority have now abandoned their fears that they would lose some of their basic rights under the Serbian constitutional amendments?

[Milosevic] Of course it does. Even before the adoption of the constitutional amendments, at the end of last year and the beginning of this year, we clearly and frankly told the Albanians of Kosovo that under these amendments to the Constitution of Serbia they would not lose any of the equality which they had in relation to other citizens of Serbia. Look, they soon had the opportunity to convince themselves of this. There are, therefore, ever fewer Albanians in the disturbances you mention. There are a small number of fanatics who still somehow dream of changing the border, separating Kosovo from Yugoslavia and attaching it to Albania. Their desire to take over Kosovo will never be realized. By fighting for such a goal they can only bring themselves to such tragic ends as have after all occurred, because Serbia will never surrender Kosovo, and there are no forces which can make this happen, because Kosovo is the heart of Serbia.

[REUTER] In northwestern parts of the country you are often "awarded" the reputation of being dogmatic, Stalinist, firm-handed, and the like, and foreign media have taken this up to a considerable extent. How has it come about that Serbia has acquired such a nasty reputation, at a time when radical democratic processes are allegedly being carried out in the northwest?

[Milosevic] Democratic processes are taking place in Serbia. We are in the process of economic reform. We are striving to develop both a prosperous and democratic society. This conversation is not the place to give you a detailed description of the origin of the accusations of things which do not in any way exist in Serbia. However, I can tell you briefly and simply, these accusations come from circles who want Yugoslavia to disintegrate and circles with hostile attitudes particularly toward Serbia. These are, after all, the same circles which accused us of threatening socialist self-management when we supported the idea of the market and commodity production. The charges you mention, considering the aims of our opponents, can briefly be explained by the Serbian proverb which says: "No choosing cudgels in a fight."

Besides, they all make what I must call the same, old, stale, and totally worn out accusations. They have decided on precisely these accusations of Stalinism and dogmatism, not because they are true, but because they believe that these accusations will be the fastest and most successful ones to compromise us in the eyes of Western countries.

[The following passage appears boxed within the body of the item]

Accusations

[REUTER] The northwest of the country also accuses you of wanting to take over as the new leader of the whole country and of cherishing claims to replace Tito. Would you comment on these charges?

[Milosevic] I do not wish to replace Tito. [end of boxed item]

[REUTER] In spite of the accusations that have been leveled, no publications have been banned in the last 2 years in Serbia, nor have there been any trials for verbal offenses, as was often the case under earlier leaderships which some now call more liberal. Where is the misunderstanding?

[Milosevic] The facts that you cite show that you must trust your own eyes and ears and not the charges you have mentioned. Even though democratic relations have never at any time since the war been so well developed in Serbia as they are today, a contrary policy is imputed to Serbia. The initiators of these charges have been recruited from chauvinist, anti-Yugoslav, and extremely aggressive circles in the country and abroad.

[REUTER] Is it in any way possible to overcome the crisis of confidence among the currently quarreling republican leaderships, and how do you envisage the future position of Serbia, which is now, one has the impression, quite isolated in Yugoslavia? What do you expect from the Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia?

[Milosevic] Serbia is not isolated in Yugoslavia, but Yugoslavia will remain distant from cultural and technological developments in the contemporary world unless its peoples unite. As far as the present leaderships are concerned, to a large extent they are responsible for the national intolerance and even national hatred that has spread in certain areas. I remain hopefull that the new elections will enable us to bring to key positions in Yugoslavia people who will not be chauvinists, but who will be Yugoslav-minded and able to unite the Yugoslav peoples in their economic and cultural development.

[REUTER] Many people who sincerely support the present policies of the Serbian leadership nevertheless have serious reservations about cadre policy. They say that some individuals who supposedly would not have been let through by referendums at local communities are being hoisted into important positions by cadre caucuses. They mention some cases in Belgrade. Is there any truth in this?

[Milosevic] I do not claim that the elections that are now in progress are irreproachable. On the contrary, it is certain that many mistakes are made. I do not know which country, especially if it is trying to make its elections democratic, would be able to avoid the hazards which stem from a large number of candidates, haste, old electoral and political habits, unsatisfactory and incomplete information, and the like. This is natural. When the doors of democracy are opened wide, it is not only honest, reasonable, healthy, and attractive people who enter; but one hopes this is no reason to close the doors. However, some of the mistakes you mention partly refer to people who are not very "popular" in certain circles, because they have fought hard for the changes which have won massive support in Serbia. Those who are in the front ranks of a struggle must bear the brunt, and in this specific case it is mostly a matter of people who, in fighting for our present policies, make the most enemies among supporters of the old policies. Besides, such remarks mainly come from those who sat back and waited when the struggle broke out. When the struggle was won, they applauded, but they do not like the fighters. We have no intention of pandering to such spectators.

[REUTER] Accusations of violations of Albanian rights come from Slovenia and Croatia, yet Albanians living in the northwest do not enjoy any of the rights that are constitutionally guaranteed to them in Kosovo. They do not have their own schools, media, or their language in public use. How would you explain the contradiction?

[Milosevic] By an absence of real concern for the Albanians and their interests. If the Slovenians and Croatians were really standing up for the Albanians' interests they would enable them to obtain in their own republics what, as you mentioned, they do not have. With their supposed concern for the destiny of the Albanians in Serbia, where the Albanians have everything which they do not possess in these other republics, they are trying to destabilize interethnic relations in Serbia and cause harm to our republic, thus hampering us, at least to some extent, in the struggle for Yugoslavia's unity.

[REUTER] You have been reproached with being "sanctimonious" toward the Serbs in other parts of Yugoslavia, and have been accused of exploiting them to destabilize other republics. Does a mother republic have a right to worry about members of its nationality in other parts of a country where there are at least eight legal systems?

[Milosevic] With or without eight legal systems, Serbia is not indifferent to the fate of Serbs living outside Serbia. However, I really believe that we will settle this question correctly and justly within the framework of Yugoslavia. We are fighting for Yugoslavia because Yugoslavia as a whole is our mother country.

[REUTER] Can the SR of Serbia achieve an economic renaissance independently of other parts of the country, and how do you explain the miserable results in the flotation of the foreign currency public loan?

[Milosevic] Significant economic changes in the positive sense can be achieved within Serbia by means of the measures we are taking, but the "renaissance" of Serbia is not possible without the renaissance of Yugoslavia. Serbia is a part of Yugoslavia and will remain so. This is why, among other things, we are fighting for the integrity of Yugoslavia as a community of equal peoples and persons, and to solve the Yugoslav crisis on the basis of the market and commodity production and through a process of democratizing relations in society.

[REUTER] What comment do you have on the news of 2 days ago that the United States Congress has finally rejected the proposal of an amendment about violations of human rights in Kosovo, observing that human rights are not jeopardized in Kosovo?

[Milosevic] This is another indication that the truth is winning. I expected it. My friends, as well as some prominent Americans with whom I have talked in recent months, know this well. The congressional decision is in harmony with the spirit of freedom and truth which the American nation desires. An unfair attitude to events in Kosovo and Serbia cannot be in the interests of the United States as I know them. Untruth could only maintain an artificial and temporary hold, and then only thanks to individuals who had their own motives. So it has proved.

[The following passage appears boxed within the body of the item]

I Am Not a Professional Politician

[REUTER] An extremely hypothetical question: Would you return to banking if you were to lose the referendum?

[Milosevic] Anybody can lose in a democratic society. Either in politics or in any other important affairs, nobody who is not ready to lose, or who puts his own person above the tasks he has set himself, can achieve anything significant toward realizing his goals. I am not a professional politician. What can be more logical than that a person who ceases to work in a political post should return to the profession he knows? [end of boxed passage]

Bosnian Party President on 'National Divisions'

AU2411165389 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 24 Nov 89

[Text] The Central Committee of the League of Communists of Bosnia-Hercegovina is meeting in Sarajevo and discussing the preparations for the 10th republican congress and the lists of candidates for the organs of the League of Communists of the republic and the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. Milan Uzelac reiterated republican views about nationalism, divisions in the country, and other current issues of the present times. The following is a report from Sarajevo by Ljubomir Nikolic:

Although preparations for the 10th congress of the League of Communists of Bosnia-Hercegovina which will be held on 7, 8, and 9 December are proceeding under difficult economic and political conditions, the public debate on congress documents has shown that the communists of Bosnia-Hercegovina are preparing themselves for this meeting with clear program orientations and positions on the most important problems of the country. This was what Milan Uzelac said, stressing that this republic will never side with any national program, will never support any kind of division of the country, and will never side with leaders who promote these programs and divisions. Our permanent orientation is a united Yugoslavia and a united League of Communists of Yugoslavia, Uzelac said. He reiterated the thesis on (?ever cruder) attacks against Bosnia-Hercegovina and its leadership, and said that these attacks are aimed at creating national divisions and polarization on a national basis.

Nobody knows better the reality of life in Bosnia-Hercegovina than the Serbs, Muslims, and Croats who are living, not beside each other, but together in Bosnia-Hercegovina, and nobody but they can and will solve their joint problems, Milan Uzelac said at the session in Sarajevo today.

The session continued with a debate on the lists of candidates for the new republican Central Committee and candidates for the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia from this republic. It was suggested to take the most disputed people, Fuad Muhic and Smiljka Milojevic, off the candidates' list and to put Mico Carevic on the list. The candidacy of Dr Nijaz Durakovic as president of the Central Committee was endorsed by 97 out of 109 communal party committees.

Bosnia-Hercegovina Party Candidates List Adopted

LD2511122789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1947 GMT 24 Nov 89

[Text] Sarajevo, 24 Nov (TANJUG)—Today the Bosnia-Hercegovina League of Communists [LC] Central Committee adopted the list of candidates for the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] Central Committee from the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC. At the proposal of the cadre commission, Fuad Muhic was withdrawn from this list although all the claims that he is a nationalist were resolutely rejected.

The list of candidates for member of the LCY Central Committee from Bosnia- Hercegovina was also adopted and it is as follows: Alija Behmen, Dzevad Tasic, Filip Vukovic, Resad Zutic, and Miroslav Turnsek.

Bosnian Assembly Addresses Security Issues

AU2511211189 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 8 Nov 89 pp 1,4

[E. Demirovic, M. Lucic report: "Evil Theories in the Sails of Nationalism"]

[Excerpts] Sarajevo, 7 Nov— By putting "some current questions" of the political and security situation in the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina on the agenda, this republic's assembly showed in the best way what and how much significance it attaches to these problems. This is particularly because of the fact that this decision was taken as early as 20 July at precisely the time when clashes and conflicts among the leaderships of the republics and provinces had drastically escalated and had the tendency of becoming more wide-spread and complicated.

To analyze the real state of affairs, the delegates made considerable use of the report on these problems which was compiled jointly by the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina and the Executive Council and which has already been presented to the public. Conditions were thus created for the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, as the highest organ of authority and self-management in the republic, to take a clear stand regarding the current events and finalize a comprehensive approach and clear tasks for all organs and institutions with the aim of halting negative trends and achieving the desired result.

Dr Obrad Piljak, president of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, advocated such an approach in his introductory speech at today's joint session of all the chambers of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina. He also focused on some issues concerning the achievement of reform goals in the economic and political system, preparations for the upcoming changes to the SFRY Constitution in the area of interethnic relations, and the resolution of conflicts between certain republican leaderships and their influence on the situation in this republic. [passage omitted]

However, the delegates' attention was mostly drawn to the part of Obrad Piljak's speech that was directly devoted to the political security situation and particularly the reports by the security service of the Socialist Republic of Serbia (which the delegates received subsequently). Obrad Piljak stressed that no one in the republic's leadership wanted to keep quiet about these problems or to bypass the delegates of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina or to put them in the position whereby they are the last to consider the reports. He underscored that the assembly will take political stands on everything, in line with findings based on facts; proceeding in this respect from the conculsions of the Republican Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Bosnia-Hercegovina, the Central

Committee of the League of Communists of Bosnia-Hercegovina, the Council of the Republic, and also the announcements by the authorized organs of the federation and the republic.

Piljak spoke about the already well-known case of the "interference of the Republican Secretariat for Internal Affairs of Serbia in the work of the organs of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina," mainly citing the already well-known positions of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina on this "affair." He stressed in this respect that, in establishing the facts about the issues contained in the aforementioned report by the Republican Secretariat for Internal Affairs, the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina had acted in line with its constitutional powers, as the organ that represents the republic and as one of the organs that ensure the equal position and sovereignty of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina in relations with other republics and within the federation. In this respect, as Piljak said, it proceeded from the need for mutual relations to develop in a favorable way solely on real, complete, and irrefutably established facts and mutual respect, exchange of information, and cooperation in resolving common questions.

According to our findings, until the middle of this year cooperation between the security services of the two republics was conducted within established frameworks and regulations, stressed Piljak. However, at that moment when part of the Security Service of the Socialist Republic of Serbia abandoned the professional, expert, and informative processing of some cases and became involved in political assessments, the initial mistake was made which deserves to be criticized and for which accountability must be established.

The Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina resolutely opposes all attempts to use this affair to cause discord and mutual distrust within the leadership of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina and between the leaderships of the two republics. This means that those people who made the mistakes and errors should be held responsible for them and the leaderships and organs should for their part clearly establish who the culprits are, dissociate themselves from erroneous political assessments and activities, and ensure that no one can be exempt from punishment, Piljak stated categorically.

Explaining the differences in statements concerning this "affair" which are well known to the public, Piljak said that they had emerged from different points of view and the material that was available when these statements were made and that, "in our opinion," they do not contain any essential difference as regards the facts or assessments. In his opinion, to establish the complete truth it is important to bear in mind the chronological sequence of events and the time that the report of 24 August was received. This report was also discussed by the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina and was immediately followed by a letter to the president of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia (a letter by Obrad Piljak) and this republic's Security Service.

It is already possible to conclude that this affair shows that we shifted onto ourselves other people's problems as well as parts of problems that should have been the concern, primarily, of those who created them through unscrupulous work or wrongful illegal actions toward our republic. One may also conclude that through hasty and insufficiently coordinated statements and announcements we have been creating fertile ground for different speculation and even speculation which is being persistently spread about disunity in the leadership. What is particularly dangerous is that this disunity is connected with national affiliation. It is also clear that the authorized organs must carry out an analysis of what must be encoded with a certain level of confidentiality and which problems the authorized organs should deal with and to what extent, as well as who can allocate to them their current tasks and in what way. This of course includes specific sanctions against all those who violate the rules of behavior that are established in this way, concluded Obrad Piljak.

Speaking about the destruction of interethnic relations in Bosnia-Hercegovina, he underscored that it is inspired, fed, and encouraged by nationalist circles within this republic and even more so by those outside it. In his view, this basically involves attacks on the unity and fraternal life of Muslims, Serbs, and Croats, and the other peoples and nationalities in Bosnia-Hercegovina as well as destructive incitement and activities whose aim is to redesign Yugoslavia and Bosnia-Hercegovina according to nationalist criteria. [passage omitted]

Bogic Bogicevic, member of the SFRY Presidency, also participated in today's session of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Assembly. He said among other things:

The crisis is great; animosities are growing; national bureaucrats are manipulating the feelings of the people—but a reform consciousness is also growing. Forces of reason are appearing which recognize the necessity of renouncing mistakes and abandoning ideological and dogmatic cliches. We really have a historical chance to be consistent and to concentrate all social energy on the reform of the economic and political system in a way that shows respect for everything that is progressive and democratic.

An important question for me is: Have we not been concerned for too long and in an inadequate way with matters that are of marginal importance from the point of view of the development of the republic and country? Have we all not dug ourselves into our trenches and defenses and into an attitude that the culprits are as a rule somewhere else, which is our way of concealing our own impotence in coming to grips with the issues of the times and of trying to make sense of the reforms in the republic and the country? asked Bogic Bogicevic.

He added that if we are held up for a long time on problems which we do not manage to resolve in a way appropriate to a modern and rationally organized law-governed state, if we do not participate sufficiently in formulating our own position in the present situation in the country, if we do not contribute to what is progressive for the country as a whole, we will get into a situation in which we will know what we do not want but will not know what we would like or would be able to do in the interests of the republic and the country. He stressed further that it is essential for us to stop accusing each other and trying to resolve questions concerning mutual relations and historical development that have already been solved. This is because no matter to what extent certain questions or individuals may be in the right in outlining and describing the situation, if we waste all our energy on this or even on opposing something and not on introducing something new, more progressive, more democratic, we will inevitably get stuck in a dead end whereby we will be defending the status quo and speaking from a position of power and not of freedom and democratization, said Bogic Bogicevic.

Bosnian Daily Views Political Bias in Trials

AU2411175689 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 2 Nov 89 p 9

[Boro Maric commentary reprinted from Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE; date not given: "According to a Well-Known Recipe"]

[Text] The common denominator between the endeavors of the Stari Trg miners and what preceded the trials of the six men in Belgrade, the four in Ljubljana, Jovan Opacic in Sibenik, the participants in the "Agrokomerc" affair in Bihac...is the attempt to represent these trials (before they even began) as political settlings of accounts which should not by any means take place in a courtroom. Put in a quite simplified way: This involves the desire to prove that courts do not make judgments according to the law but according to the demands of the ruling political circles—that is to say politicians. The conclusion can then be drawn that this also demonstrates Yugoslavia's impotence as a law-governed state and vice versa, its power as a political state.

The common characteristic of all these attempts at putting the courts "on trial," or more exactly the politics, is the recipe according to which these trials are conducted. First of all, the press "warms up" the whole affair for months, then real defense headquarters are set up, delegations of observers are invited from around the world, petitions are written, and finally, when the trial begins, the courtrooms and the streets and squares surrounding them become too small to accommodate all of the interested parties and all of the participants in these trials. Furthermore, all of these showdowns of justice with the enemy (real or imaginary) last so long that they become tiring for anyone who follows them. These everlasting trials most often produce "watered down" judgments; that is, they frustrate the expectations of both the supporters of the trials (because of a light punishment) and the opponents (because any punishment is handed down at all).

Because of all this, it is worth once again recalling an old Greek myth that says that adherence to legality is a prerequisite for the stability of every country. If we ask ourselves what remains of this principle in this country we will receive contradictory replies. It can be assumed that they will be in republican-provincial political tones. In short, people support trials for their "own" enemies, even if the accused are not their enemies, and challenge the trial of "other people's enemies," who do not have to be enemies either. In the face of all this, even handing down judgments "in the name of the people" increasingly resembles cynicism. This is because we are obviously well on the way to having courts handing down punishment in the name of a part of the people or the people of their "own" republic and province.

Discord in Bosnia Reflects Countries' Divisions

AU2511181389 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 18-19 Nov 89 p 4

[Zeljko Vukovic commentary: "The Logic of National Colors"]

[Text] The divisions and even mutual confrontations within the increasingly politicized population of Bosnia-Hercegovina have been attaining serious proportions.

"A wall of discord" has been built along the line between nationalities. The reason is simple—collective consciousness of Bosnians and Hercegovinians is "programmed" to observe all current disputes, troubles, and problems from a national angle. Even things that by no means have anything to do with nationality inevitably acquire a dominating national dimension.

It must no longer be disputable and particularly not hidden that the homogenization of members of Serbian nationality on one side and of members of the Muslim nationality on the other is the ultimate consequence of the current situation on the political scene in the country and in Bosnia-Hercegovina. The extent to which national affiliation has become the highest point of anything said or done is sufficiently shown and warned about by the fact that everybody who fails to speak or work "in conformity" with the so-called "logic of national colors" is easily called a renegade or a traitor to his own people.

For example—and this is becoming a more and more established custom—a Serb who expresses his political conviction through an a priori radical support of everything done by the leadership of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, and particularly by Slobodan Milosevic, faces a real danger of being called a "Great Serb" or at least a man with an "excess" of national feelings. On the other hand, if a Muslim fails to unreservedly attack all moves made by Bosnia-Hercegovinan top political leadership, particularly by Nijaz Durakovic, he is easily attacked as "pan-Islamic" or as an "Islamic fundamentalist."

In Search of Culprits

Who, be it deliberately or unconsciously, is building or helping build the "wall of discord"? Various accusers have so far put on the dock the leaderships of Serbia and Bosnia-Hercegovina, the two top politicians, Milosevic and Durakovic, the press and journalists of the two republics.... To what extent are the accused really guilty of that for which they are blamed?

As far as the leadership of the Socialist Republic of Serbia is concerned, its responsibility is irrefutable. The only dilemma is how big this responsibility is. To put it mildly, the expressed lack of knowledge of this republic's leaders about the clear fact (and their responsibility in it) that the State Security Service of the Socialist Republic of Serbia—when conducting an investigation on the emigration of Serbs from two communes in Bosnia-Hercegovina—violated the sovereignty of the state of Bosnia-Hercegovina, is unacceptable in the relations within a federation consisting of equal members. Instead of providing a quick and well-argued explanation of the case and taking appropriate measures against responsible people, the only thing which was done was to file criminal charges against a journalist who had revealed the entire case and the unknown person who had given him the information. In the emotional politicized atmosphere, such an attitude by the leadership of the Socialist Republic of Serbia toward the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina understandably provoked very negative reactions.

Slobodan Milosevic himself has contributed a great deal to putting Bosnia-Hercegovina into an inferior position. For a full month, he did not answer a letter sent to him by Obrad Piljak, president of the state of Bosnia-Hercegovina, in which he was asked to tell the whole truth about the activity of the State Security Service of Serbia on the territory of Bosnia-Hercegovina. Had Milosevic told the whole truth in time and correctly—and he was certainly obliged to do so—this political-police affair would most probably not have been created. Only after the affair had already stirred feelings did Milosevic send his reply to Piljak, but he did so in such a way that it was bound to add fuel to the fire, because there was nothing in that letter apart from an ambiguous message that "truth cannot be concealed any longer." Is there any need to say that one side interpreted the message as a threat and the other as the only possible view? The fact that Milosevic has avoided giving at least a courteous explanation of why he needed a month to write what he has written in that letter speaks of his lack of will to lead a constructive dialogue on an equal footing.

Many other accusations pronounced in Bosnia-Hercegovina against Serbian leadership can be synthesized into one—the accusation concerning its deliberate and organized work on destabilizing Bosnia-Hercegovina. Whether it is doing so, to what extent and in what way, is a dilemma which can only be solved completely and in a well-argued way by some competent and unbiased organs and bodies.

The same conclusion would have to apply to another current dilemma: To what extent is the leadership of Bosnia-Hercegovina and some individuals in it provoking suspicions and distrust about what is happening in Serbia, whether it is being done deliberately or unconsciously.

The Leadership's Powerlessness

The leadership of Bosnia-Hercegovina is trying to convince the public that it is autonomous, but every move made by the top republican leadership and its individual members is seen exclusively from one angle: the extent to which the move conforms with two political options known as "Serbian" and "Slovene." Hence the special strictness about any word coming from the "central republic."

The powerlessness of the leadership of Bosnia-Hercegovina, or its inability to create a "rescue program" for economic and political troubles of its own republic, is the primary cause of all suspicions expressed about that leadership, hence the great responsibility for the existing situation borne by the top political leadership of Bosnia-Hercegovina. Objectively speaking, under the present conditions in the country, the leadership of Bosnia-Hercegovina is almost incapable of coming to grips with reality in an effective way.

The more-than-obvious obstructions with which some communes meet all decisions made by the top republican leadership remain covered by the so-called democratization. There is no reaction to these obstructions, because such a reaction would be interpreted as the leadership's attack against democracy, or against a certain region, or even a nationality.

This "demur" is fostered by the ever-increasing and deadly pressures from outside the republic on the authority and acceptability of the leadership of Bosnia-Hercegovina. Nijaz Durakovic is a typical example: all accusations against him coming from numerous rostrums and written in even more numerous articles represent—to put it mildly—a campaign against the man. Durakovic as a politician and as a man cannot be to everybody's liking, but it is unacceptable to have him left to such ill-tempered attacks. In such a campaign against him, even well-argued criticism loses all meaning and is misused. It can be seen that Durakovic himself can no longer fairly discriminate between the assessment of his work and the campaign. Unfortunately for him, his defenders know no bounds, so their defense statements resemble "panegyrics to a saint."